

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

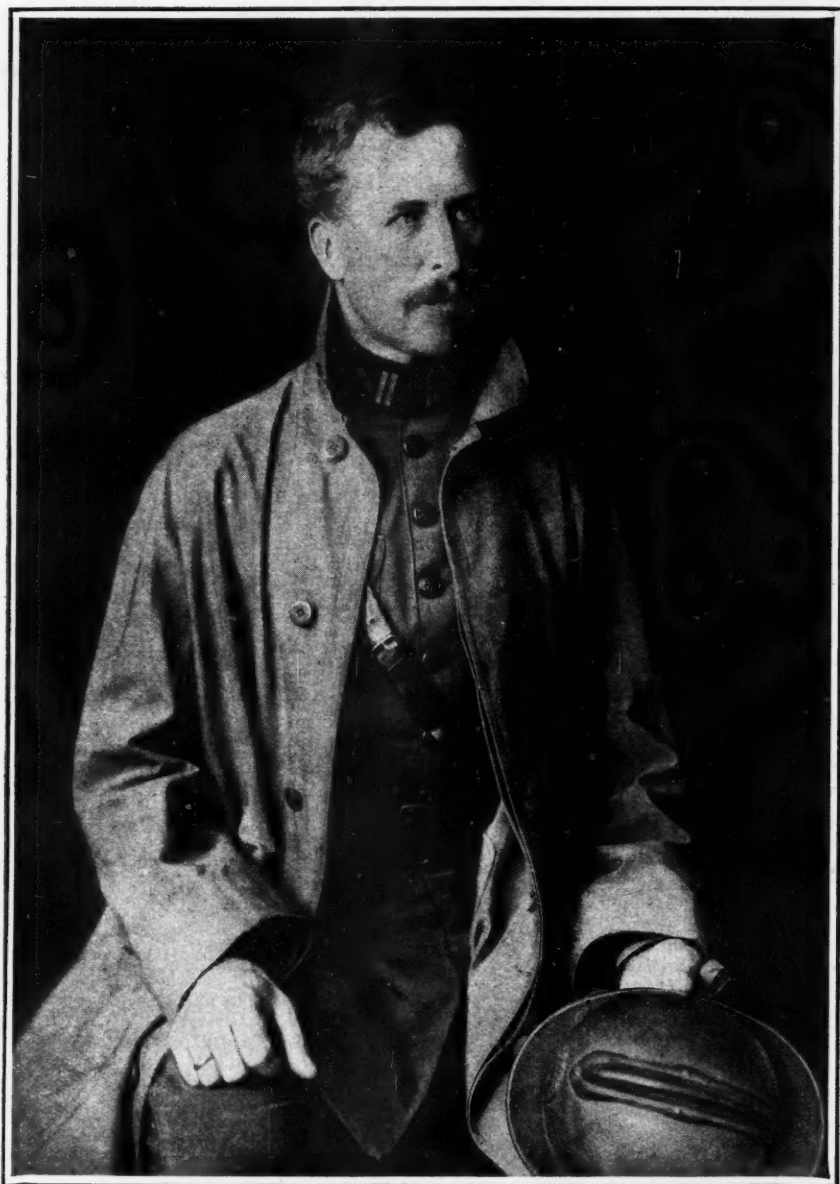
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KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM, WHO VISITS AMERICA IN OCTOBER

(No official guests could be more welcome than the King and Queen of Belgium and the heir to the throne. We are glad to present in this number of the REVIEW especial tributes to the King from Dr. Henry van Dyke and Dr. Maurice Francis Egan, who, as American diplomats representing us in neighboring countries during the war period, have intimate knowledge of the noble leadership of the Belgian King. Mr. Mark Sullivan also contributes a character sketch that presents the King's virile personality. Dr. Lyman P. Powell writes touchingly of the moral power and leadership of Cardinal Mercier, the Belgian prelate, whose arrival preceded that of the King and Queen)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Teachers,
in the
Present Crisis*

During recent weeks, school boards and trustees have discovered that the high cost of living has depleted the ranks of the teaching profession to such an extent that it will be hard to carry on the work of education with anything like standard efficiency. The average pay of trained professional teachers, whether in public schools or in colleges, has been relatively too small for many years past. Recent increases have not sufficed to meet changed conditions of living. In New York City and many other places, the aggregate school budget has increased perhaps from 20 to 30 per cent.; but, with the cost of living advanced from 50 to 100 per cent., the teachers are probably the most poorly paid this season of any class of American workers. Thousands of able young instructors and professors have abandoned the schools and colleges, and gone into business pursuits; and many women teachers have found other occupations. Colleges have been making the most strenuous efforts to find means with which to increase the salaries of their corps of instructors. Harvard University, for example, has organized a campaign for an immediate sum of \$15,000,000 as fresh endowment, the income of which is to be applied chiefly to an increase in the pay of teachers.

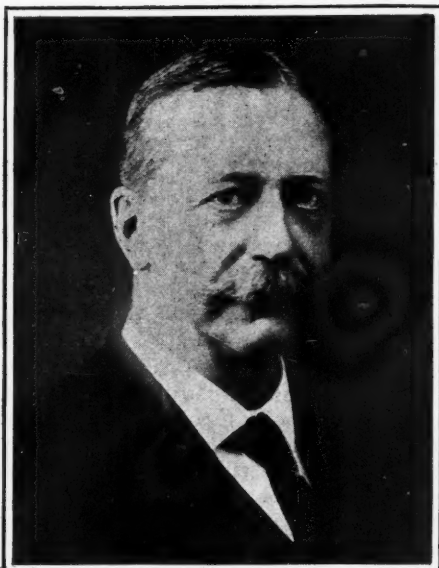
*Shaking Our
Schools
Out of Ruts*

Temporarily the shortage of better teachers for public schools will be to the advantage of the untrained and immature, especially in small towns and country districts. The larger school systems will, even more than heretofore, offer inducements to the good teachers from the country. At least, school-keeping will be shaken out of some old ruts. It is to be hoped that the resulting situation may stimulate the movement for consolidating rural schools, and for the adoption of a deliberate policy on the part of State govern-

ments for the maintenance of rural life. Country children should be as well instructed as those of the larger towns and cities. One of the results of the shortage of teachers, furthermore, may be the revival of conscious and deliberate educational effort in the home. Where the school teachers are young girls without professional training, who engage in the work as a temporary makeshift, it is not wise to rely too entirely upon schools for educating children. A sharp distinction should be made between professional teachers of character, experience and proved success, and those of the casual kind. The professional teacher should be well paid, and should be restored to that position of honor and influence in the community that belonged to the schoolmasters of an earlier day.

*The Schoolman
as Principal
Citizen*

While there is much to be said for classification and uniformity in the arrangement of teachers' salaries, there are also many considerations in favor of the recognition and reward of individual merit in teachers. Classification and systematic promotion seem to be unavoidable in the treatment of teachers in the public schools of a city. The systems should, however, be so devised as to encourage merit and devotion, and to secure the advancement of the best teachers in contrast with a uniform promotion on the sole criterion of seniority. In small places the wise and enthusiastic principal of a village school or a consolidated country school ought to be paid enough to keep him at his post regardless of rules and customs. He is, or should be, the foremost citizen. The tendency in some cities to organize teachers on the trade-union plan, and secure local charters like so many groups of unionized garment-workers or cigar-makers, is not likely to be permanent. Apparently the sole object of such unions has been to secure salary increases.

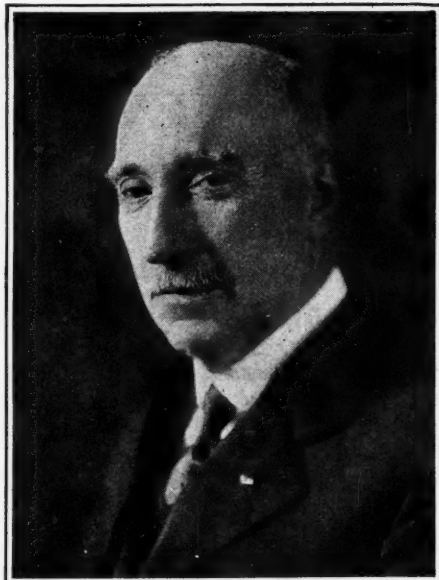


PRESIDENT A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

(Mr. Lowell, as head of a great university, is in the forefront of the movement for placing the teaching profession upon a more liberal basis of support in order that our higher institutions may meet the demand for training leaders, scholars, and professional experts)

*Teaching
Is Not a
Trade*

But the history of the teacher's calling has been a totally different one from that of workingmen employed under our system of private capitalistic industry. If the schools were business ventures run by proprietors as money-making schemes, the teachers might well be organized for collective bargaining as against the capitalists who were making money in educational ventures and undertakings. But the motive and the function of public education are not analogous to those of private industry. The great object of the schools is to preserve and to improve what is best in our complex national life and civilization. It is much more important for society as a whole that the teaching profession be well sustained than it is for any of the individuals who happen at the moment to be engaged in teaching. If teachers are not paid decently and treated well, their profession will decline rapidly, and we shall have poor schools, while the colleges will lose their power to train even a small proportion of the leaders of thought and action. Trying as are the private economic problems of most of the members of the teaching profession, it remains true that in its very nature the work of the teacher must be as free as possible from personal consider-



SUPERINTENDENT WILLIAM L. ETTINGER, OF THE NEW YORK CITY SCHOOLS

(Dr. Ettinger, as directing head of the largest city school system of the country, stands conspicuous in the work of our educational leaders for keeping the public schools abreast of the needs of the day)

ations. There is no other calling that requires such constant practice of unselfishness as that of teaching and training the young.

*A Calling
That Needs
Support*

The more devoted the teacher is to his work, the less opportunity he has to give prudent thought to his own affairs. For that very reason society will best serve itself by relieving the teachers from private anxiety. The emergencies of the war called for great sacrifices as exemplified particularly in the cheerful and noble service rendered by the five million young men who went into the Army and Navy. The period of reconstruction following the war is also one of public difficulty and danger, and our teachers of all grades and classes have now an exceptional opportunity for useful service. Most of them know something of history, and are students of current affairs. Their calling tends to make them open-minded, receptive to truth, and dispassionate in judgment. They are able to see that industry, thrift, patience, social good-will, private and public honesty, and a democracy based upon intelligence and virtue, are the essential things for to-day. They know how to direct the thinking of the rising generation and to point out the path of safe progress. Those

good teachers who decide to make the best of their personal perplexities, and stick to the business of instructing the young, are entitled to the especial regard and support of parents and of society at large. Meanwhile, in each community, there should be efforts made to ascertain the facts about the teachers in the schools in order that the instructors of the young may not have to bear an undue share of hardship in this period of economic readjustment that is relatively so favorable for unionized wage-earners, and so unfavorable for the salaried classes, especially those engaged in public work, like teachers, clergymen, firemen, policemen, and post-office employees.

*As to
Public
Employment*

There ought to be kept clearly in mind the various points of distinction between public employees and workers in private industries carried on for profit. In ordinary industry the law of supply and demand is always in operation. Unions are formed among the workers, and agreements are entered into from time to time with employers in order that this so-called law of supply and demand may not work too harshly and unequally; but the principles of competition are not thus set aside. They are merely regulated in their working by such devices as collective bargaining, periodic agreements and arbitration. In public employment the conditions hitherto have been quite different, and it is essential that the distinctions be kept clear for the future. The public schools of a city or a State ought not to be subject to a strike of teachers for higher pay. The health of a community—as regards infectious diseases, for example—ought not to be endangered by a strike of sanitary inspectors, health-board employees, ambulance-drivers, and hospital workers in general. The public duty of vigilance on the part of firemen, to whom has been entrusted the protection of life and property, cannot be set aside in favor of the private duty of firemen to provide for their families. The protection of a great community against crime and disorder is a sacred trust imposed upon police departments that have been trained and developed through several generations.

*As to
Policemen,
In Particular*

A policeman in a large community is certainly the most indispensable of all public servants. When the young candidate passes the examinations and secures appointment to the po-

lice force, he renounces the point of view of the worker in private industry, and accepts the wholly different status of a permanent public official who represents governmental authority. Elective officers like governors and mayors come and go; but policemen and firemen and the better class of persons engaged in teaching, in sanitary work and in certain other forms of public service, are carefully protected against arbitrary dismissal and are trained to recognize the responsible nature of their callings. They may indeed resign as individuals from time to time; but their moral obligation not to endanger the public well-being by strikes is not greatly different from the obligation of soldiers. It is a great pity that the leaders of organized labor who have generally been clear thinkers in matters involving points of principle should not have insisted upon refusing to bring public employees like those of the post-office, firemen, policemen, and teachers into affiliation with the unions of workmen employed in private capitalistic industry. This new tendency to unionize public employees is hurtful to organized labor on the one hand, and is not beneficial to public servants on the other hand.

*Boston's
Police
Strike*

In this discussion we are not referring to wage-workers in mechanical trades, transportation, and the like, who may happen at one time to be in public employment and at another time in private employment; but are discussing the callings that are responsible, permanent and professionalized, and that are remunerated on a systematic salary basis and not on the day-wage basis. Boston last month was the scene of a police strike that came as an object-lesson to the entire country. The higher authorities for a day or two seemed unequal to the task of keeping order, and there was widespread looting and petty criminality chiefly on the part of gangs of hoodlums and irresponsible boys. Mayor Peters and Governor Coolidge soon asserted themselves, however, and ample bodies of state troops were available for the restoration of order. The policemen did not strike to enforce any particular demand as to wages or conditions. Their wholly improper action was in assertion of what they regarded as their right to form a union that should be affiliated with the ordinary trade unions in the local branch of the American Federation of Labor. They had been led along false lines of reasoning to a shocking error in conduct.



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MAYOR ANDREW J. PETERS, OF BOSTON, IN CONFERENCE WITH POLICE COMMISSIONER CURTIS DURING RIOTS FOLLOWING THE STRIKE OF THE CITY'S POLICE

*The Point
at
Issue*

Contrary to the mandate of Police Commissioner Curtis, a great majority of the Boston policemen had formed such a union and had entered into relations with the Federation. Commissioner Curtis had suspended nineteen policemen as officers of the union or as leaders in the movement. The strike of the policemen was on behalf of the nineteen suspended men. Nothing that we have said in this discussion should be construed as denying that the policemen of Boston have a right to form an association, or even a right to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We do not know precisely the points of law and fact which were regarded by Commissioner Curtis as justifying his attitude toward the policemen's union and his action in suspending nineteen police officers. In order to be effective, a police force must have *esprit de corps* and must recognize the orders of superior officers. But this very fact makes it all the more requisite that a police commissioner exercise his authority with reason and good judgment. It is well to assume that policemen of Boston were not wholly lacking in a

sense of public duty. They put themselves in the wrong by striking; but perhaps the police commissioner had been unwise in the steps he had taken which led to the predicament. Perhaps the crisis could have been avoided by a different policy.

*Policemen
Should Serve
Public Only* It is clear enough, however, that policemen ought not to strike.

In our opinion it is also clear that bodies of public officials ought not to be brought into the American Federation of Labor. A part of the duty of a policeman is to represent the general public in the maintenance of order in times when there are strikes, lockouts and disorders in private industry. It is quite as inappropriate for the policeman to be affiliated with trade unionism as for the judges to form a union and become affiliated with employers' associations. The judges must be impartial servants of law and justice. The policemen also must uphold law and order, and ought not to have group connections with other distinct bodies which are actually at this time on strike or are threatening such action. Thus, for all the policemen of Pittsburgh and neighboring cities to be solidly unionized and affiliated with the steel workers at the very moment when, last month, a steel strike was imminent, would have been wholly contrary to sound public policy, and would have left the general community bereft of that confidence in its own agencies for security that it has a right to depend upon. Thus it seems clear that organized labor, in accepting these bodies of public officials, is showing a tendency to over-reach itself and is adding to itself elements of weakness rather than of strength. As for the groups of officials themselves, they are sacrificing something of the dignity and value of their own public status by emphasizing unduly their private demands and relationships.

*The Remedy
is in
Society's Hands*

There seems to be no safe kind of compromise with an actual mutiny of sworn officers or servants of the law, in the face of public duty. Sailors may have bitter grievances, and soldiers may be the victims of tyranny on the part of their superiors; but mutinies cannot be safely encouraged or condoned. It follows, however, that those whose tyranny has provoked soldiers or sailors or policemen to mutiny should be severely dealt with, and that grievances should be remedied. Police-



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MASSACHUSETTS GUARDSMEN ROUNDING UP RIOTERS ON BOSTON COMMON DURING THE POLICE STRIKE

men should be exceedingly well paid and very highly trained. As society grows more complex, the policeman's work requires increasing intelligence, and high qualities of personal character and of sound judgment. The policeman is not merely a negative force, but a positive agency for well-being in crowded communities. His position should be made so desirable that there would be lively competition among young men who had made good records in the Army to become members of the police force in their own communities. The permanence of these positions, and the respect and honor due to valuable public service, ought to be accepted by every policeman as a part of his current reward. He cannot expect his salary to rise instantly with changes in the cost of living, but he is entitled to a most considerate hearing when changed conditions suddenly render his pay very insufficient, as in the present year. Treat public servants well and require a high order of talent and service: such is the remedy. Since the Boston situation was so full of object lessons for hundreds of other American cities, it was greatly to be desired that it should be cleared up in a way that lessened rather than increased the danger of like troubles elsewhere. The authority of the State of Massachusetts could not be arbitrated; but the State could afford to be magnanimous, when public authority was unconditionally acknowledged.

*A Caution
to the
Masterful!*

In these labor matters many conflicts could be avoided if there were more patience, and a more generous effort to understand the opposing side before crossing the Rubicon of belligerency. Every phase of economic unrest at the present time demands open-mindedness and frank discussion. In times past, the managers of productive capital have in many cases been justly condemned for their treatment of labor and their disregard of the long-suffering public. The war created a vast labor scarcity, and unionism seized its chance to make enormous gains. Organized labor is now in the saddle; and its leadership will inevitably have to face the verdicts of public opinion, in its turn. It will be well for all classes, including the labor groups, if it is agreed that we are to have something better than "Soviet" management of public affairs, and that the Government and the fields of public employment are to be kept independent, and outside of the play of competitive economic forces. Let the new masters of the situation be cautious. After a few days of the Boston strike, it became evident that the proposed general strike of telephone operators, street railroad men, and other unionized bodies in sympathy with the police would be such a reckless mistake as to discredit and harm the cause of organized labor in the eyes of the whole country.



MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AT HEADQUARTERS IN WASHINGTON

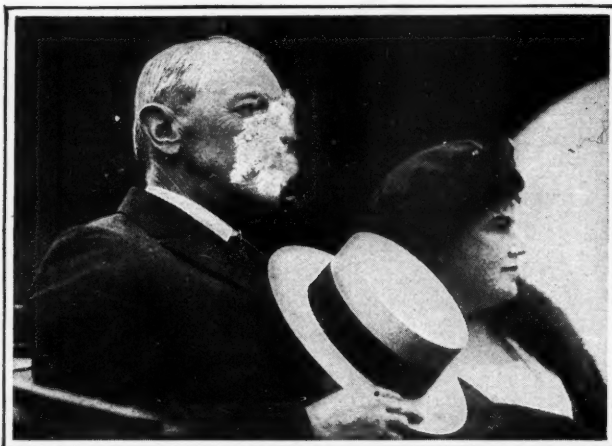
(This group of labor leaders has been considering situations of a more critical nature and serious kind than ever before in the history of the American labor movement. In the front row, left to right, are Daniel J. Tobin, treasurer of the Federation; Samuel Gompers, president; Frank Morrison, secretary; and Matthew Woll, vice-president. In the back row are Thomas A. Rickert, Frank Duffy, James Duncan, and Joseph F. Valentine—all four of whom are vice-presidents of the organization)

half of the wage increases demanded, with an agreement to negotiate or arbitrate regarding the remaining half.

Shall "Steel"
Be
Unionized

The steel industry has heretofore in the main succeeded in dealing with its own workers without the intervention of outside organizations; while the labor leaders have long been determined to unionize steel as thoroughly as they have unionized coal production or railroads. It is held by the heads of the steel companies, like the United States Steel Corporation, that wages in the steel industry have more than kept pace with the increase in the cost of living; and that the great majority of their employes have not desired to come under a strictly unionized régime. But this is a question which the labor leaders on the one hand and the steel magnates on the other were evidently destined to put to the test of practical experiment. Judge E. H. Gary, as Chairman

of the Board of Directors of the United States Steel Corporation and director of its general policies, had been politely declining, for some weeks past, to meet for personal discussion the labor leaders who were seeking to bring about a recognition of a group of unions, some twenty-four in number, corresponding to different kinds of work performed by the employes of the corporation. Failing to obtain President Wilson's specific promise to support their demand for a conference with Judge Gary, these leaders on September 9th called a strike in the steel industry to take effect on the 22d. There were wide differences of assertion and of opinion as to the extent to which the union movement had penetrated the ranks of the workers for the great steel companies. The outside public was bound to be somewhat influenced by the fact that the strike leaders impatiently waived aside President Wilson's earnest request that they defer action until after his October conference.



THE PRESIDENT WITH MRS. WILSON, ON TOUR IN THE WEST

*The President
and the
Treaty*

The urgent plea for the President's intervention in the steel controversy came at a time when Mr. Wilson felt himself entitled to concentrate his energies upon what he regarded as a task paramount to all others. He was in the West, traveling rapidly from one place to another, expounding the principles of the League of Nations and the peace treaty, and trying to arouse an active public sentiment in favor of ratification. Undoubtedly the debate in the Senate had produced some degree of popular bewilderment. The Republican Senators had aroused themselves to an increasing hostility of mind against certain arrangements in the great compact of Versailles, so that the main outlines of the treaty had disappeared from view. The military powers of Europe had become a menace largely by reason of their imperial forms of governments, which had been allied with the methods and objects of militarism. Those governments do not exist any longer, and the League of Nations is to be an association of the countries which have popular governments. There is reason to believe that the kind of public opinion which prevents the United States from being a menace to Canada, or to any other country, will gain increasing control of European governments. It is not likely, for instance, that the people of England will permit their government to menace the liberties of any other country whatsoever. On the contrary, we have ample evidence that the British Government is in many parts of the world protecting backward peoples in the growth of real freedom. Under the new conditions,

the League can help, and it is entitled to our support.

*America's Part
Must be
Continued*

The return of General Pershing, and the parade of the First Division, with the Commander-in-Chief at its head in New York on September 10, brought freshly to mind the amazing episode of America's military intervention in Europe. Cardinal Mercier, the great hero of Belgium, who witnessed that parade, declared that the American Army had won the war and saved the liberties of Europe. It is no longer a question then

of our becoming involved in trans-oceanic affairs. On the contrary, it is inconceivable that we can ever again become as deeply involved as we have been during the past three years. The speeches of some of the Senators read strangely, as if they were unaware of what had been happening. It is quite impossible that we should have sacrificed so much to win a victory without having any subsequent sense of responsibility for the maintenance of peace, freedom and justice. As it happens, there is practically no discussion of the terms of peace as they relate to Germany. The controversy turns altogether upon exact provisions in the organization and working plans of the so-called League of Nations. The Senatorial critics of the scheme wish to protect the Monroe Doctrine, demand that America keep her own sovereignty in such domestic questions as immigration and tariffs, and especially insist that America must not send armies and navies to help enforce peace in distant parts of the world at the behest of the League of Nations, without controlling action at the time by the Congress of the United States.

*How Valuable
Are the
Exceptions?*

As regards these matters, President Wilson declares that they are already adequately dealt with in the treaty itself. He assures the country that there is not the slightest occasion for making exceptions as to these points, because they are already covered. It would seem, therefore, entirely sufficient for the Senate to adopt a memorandum of interpretation as to these matters, based upon the President's assurances. There seems to be



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A MEETING OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

(From left to right around the table are Senators George H. Moses, of New Hampshire; Hiram Johnson, of California; Warren G. Harding, of Ohio; Albert B. Fall, of New Mexico; Frank B. Brandegee, of Connecticut; Porter J. McCumber, of North Dakota; Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts (chairman); Gilbert M. Hitchcock, of Nebraska; Claude A. Swanson, of Virginia; and Key Pittman, of Nevada)

some difference of opinion as to the method by which the United States could honorably withdraw from the League, unless explicit action were taken at this time. Upon this point undoubtedly the Senate could adopt a memorandum expressing its convictions, and President Wilson could recommend to the Peace Conference—which is still in session—that it amend or modify the treaty in this particular.

*British
Influence in
the League*

There has arisen in the Senate a strong objection to the admission of the great self-governing British dominions to separate representation in the Assembly of the League of Nations. The essential interests of the Canadian people in the maintenance of world peace are more nearly identical with the interests of the people of the United States than are those of any other country. In our judgment it would be a distinct misfortune to the United States to exclude great political entities like Canada, Australia and New Zealand from direct representation in the Assembly of the League. The arguments in the Senate seem to be based upon some theory of rivalry between the British Empire and the United States. American sentiment should repudiate that theory once for all. We cannot too warmly welcome the

statesmen of South Africa, Canada and Australia as participants in the work of the League of Nations. Their presence there will be wholly to our advantage.

*Future
Amendments
Probable*

It was a very difficult thing to formulate the great treaty of Versailles, and doubtless the experience of the future years will show that many mistakes were made; but we are quite frank in expressing the opinion that our Senators have not shown us very much that is vitally wrong. Mr. Root, Mr. Taft and Mr. Hughes, as wise and judicious Republican leaders, made some suggestions in the late winter or early spring that were heeded at Paris, and that to some extent at least were actually embodied in the existing treaty. If the document were ratified as it stands, it would not be amiss to seek modifications from time to time in the future. The League of Nations is simply an arrangement for organizing the governments of the world for the purpose of preventing the evils and dangers of militarism, for the perfection of international law, and for the establishment of justice among the nations and the protection of the rights of weaker peoples. This part of the treaty is the tentative framework of a world constitution. It can be amended from time to time just as our

Federal Constitution has been amended. It will be remembered that our Constitution was adopted upon the implied understanding that a series of amendments would soon be adopted to meet the demands of certain States. Such amendments, it will be borne in mind, followed very promptly after the Constitution went into effect.

*The Treaty
Now Under
Final Debate*

On September 10th the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, headed by Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, which had been devoting weeks of study to the treaty, reported the document to the full Senate. The Republican majority of this Committee, with the exception of Senator McCumber of North Dakota, had agreed in recommending the ratification of the treaty with certain reservations and amendments. A minority report signed by the Democratic members of the Committee with one exception was presented by Mr. Hitchcock of Nebraska, this report favoring the adoption of the treaty exactly as presented by President Wilson. It is to be regretted that the debate has often seemed to be partisan and acrimonious, although we do not believe that any one of the Senators has been consciously influenced by any motive except that of patriotic duty. The precise form of this treaty doubtless will have some influence and effect upon the course of history; but there will be many other factors in the shaping of events. Republican Senators are right in their demands that we know, insofar as possible, what commitments we are making under the solemn formalities of the treaty. Generally speaking, agreements that limit freedom of action under contingencies that have not yet arisen are to be avoided. The American people must determine from time to time in the future what is to be the nature and extent of their participation in the affairs of the Eastern Hemisphere.

*American
Influence
Abroad*

We believe that this is understood in Europe, but some of the Senators would like to have it stated more explicitly. As for the peoples of the old world, they undoubtedly desire the friendship of America, and the aid of this country for safeguarding the world against future war. All this may be true, while much else is true at the same time. Thus, Mr. Simonds, in an exceedingly able discussion of the situation in Eastern Europe in the present number of the REVIEW, shows

us how hard it is to secure final adjustments, and how angry each European country becomes if its own ambitions are thwarted through the influence of the dominant group in the Peace Conference. Mr. Simonds thus shows that the United States has become successively unpopular in a number of European countries, because of the disinterested endeavor to bring about a settlement of boundary disputes upon permanent principles. Obviously, it would have been much easier for Mr. Wilson and the American delegation to side-step these boundary controversies altogether; but, as it happened, the Americans were in a disinterested position, and their services on boundary commissions were for that very reason insisted upon. Surely Americans could have had no motive in disappointing the Italians in a detail like the control of Fiume or points on the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic. But the United States, having participated in the war, was obliged to take part in the Peace Conference that followed; and, just as our agency in the ending of the war had been conclusive, so our participation in the Peace Conference was bound to be conspicuous and vital.

*Victory a
Continuing
Condition*

We have expressed the opinion without hesitation that President Wilson would have been better advised if he had insisted upon having the services at Paris of Republican statesmen of the type of Messrs. Root, Taft and Hughes; and we are still of opinion that many members of the Senate should have been urged to spend a considerable time abroad in close contact with the situations out of which the peace treaty has been evolved. But there is ample evidence for the view that America's effort and influence were creditably used in the arduous effort to shape the peace treaty, even as they had been nobly and unselfishly used in the crisis of the war. It is probable that the final action of the Senate may be deferred until the end of October. It would be unfair to Senators to deny that the Republican debate has upon the whole been very able as well as patriotic, although it has not seemed to us to have a true sense of proportion and to have unduly emphasized some details while failing to recognize that the treaty as a whole lies in the necessary line of that coöperation which was involved in the victory over Germany. The victory itself was on behalf of the rights of peoples great and small, to be protected against military conquest. The vic-

tory was not to be regarded as an event, but as a continuing condition. International peace must henceforth be the object of active organization and constant vigilance.

America,
Japan, and
China

Whatever may be thought regarding the relations of Japan and China, it does not seem likely that any valuable interest would be served by a vote in the United States Senate to amend the Peace Treaty insofar as it relates to Japan's claims in the Province of Shantung. The Japanese people have much more at stake in the proper treatment of China than has any other nation. China, on her part, can derive better practical aid from Japan than from any country of Europe or America. The Japanese have openly agreed that the Province of Shantung, which was rescued from the Germans, will be promptly restored to the Chinese. No evidence has been brought forward in the Senate to show that it would not be distinctly beneficial to China to have Japanese participation in the economic development of the Shantung Province. Japan has evidently made mistakes in her ambition to acquire a dominant influence in China; but we must remember that Japan has had very bad examples furnished her by at least three great European powers, in their past aggressions upon Chinese territory. Her mistakes are to be viewed somewhat leniently, in the light of their high-handed proceedings.

China's
Future

The important thing for China is to win the respect of the world by establishing a strong and capable government and giving it loyal support. China is not to obtain her full and ultimate rights by virtue of any championship in the United States Senate. If the Chinese would but try as hard as the Japanese to make national progress, and to secure unity and strength in government councils, they would soon become the foremost power,

not merely of Asia, but of the entire world. When they overcome their national faults and do justice to themselves as a great people, they will not only dictate to Japan regarding Shantung, but they will recover all their provinces and ports that are now under foreign control, and do so upon their own terms. Meanwhile, the Japanese have accomplished marvels under great difficulties, and they ought not to be deprived of the American friendship that they have long enjoyed. Quarreling with Japan is not the true way to help China. It is to be hoped, then, that the Senate will not attempt to adjust the Shantung question by voting to amend the treaty.

Delays Also
in
Europe

As for the delay in ratification, it is well to be reminded that of the five leading powers in the making of the treaty, Great Britain alone had last month completed the formalities of accepting the document. France, Italy, and Japan, like the United States, had not yet proclaimed formal ratification. The President had submitted the treaty to the Senate on July 10, and the Committee on Foreign Relations had reported it back for adoption with suggested amendments after exactly two months of consideration. The end of the third month ought to bring final action. Under the circumstances this would not be taking undue time, although it is not yet clear to the country that the continuance of discussion has accomplished anything specific. Germany is hoping the Senate will destroy Allied unity.

Turmoil
Abroad

If we are finding the problems of economic readjustment rather serious in the United States, we may understand something of the course of affairs in Europe by thinking of conditions there as more chaotic than our own. Thus labor troubles in England are far more intense and disturbing than in the United States. The



THE DISMOUNTED MINE
"Be careful! It still might go off!"
From *Notenkraak* (Amsterdam)



A TWO-EDGED SWORD

(When the agitator strikes against society he generally hits the workers the hardest)

From *Karikaturen* (Christiania)

demand in this country on the part of labor unions for the nationalization of railroads seems but a faint echo of the attitude of English labor toward a like proposal. Trade unionism as a whole in Great Britain is supporting the miners in their demand for the nationalization of the coal industry, and it is quite possible that unless this demand is heeded by Parliament the unions may attempt to enforce it by bringing about a general strike, with a tie-up of railroads and the stoppage of industry at large. Great Britain is, upon the whole, the best controlled and most orderly of all countries; and the unrest that prevails in British politics and industry is little more than normal when compared with social ferment in some other parts of Europe. Thus, it would be much more agreeable for a visitor just now to sojourn in England or Scotland than in Silesia. The Peace Conference refers the destiny of Upper Silesia to a vote of the inhabitants. The Silesian coal mines are regarded as essential to the running of the German railroads. The mine workers are mostly Poles. The conflict between Poland and Germany at that point is acute, on both industrial and political grounds. The plebiscite will be taken under the auspices of Allied troops, including two American regiments. It is not going to be easy to establish peaceful republics on the ruins of the great military empires. The processes of adjustment will require a good deal of time.

*Austria's Treaty
Signed at
Last*

With the great scene when the German delegates signed the peace treaty in the presence of the representatives of more than twenty Allied countries, the world's interest in the work of the Peace Conference reached its climax; and it is not strange that there has been less attention paid to the protracted negotiations which have at last ended in the signing of the peace treaty with Austria. The document was presented to the Austrian delegation headed by Dr. Karl Renner, the Chancellor of the present Austrian Government, on September 2d. The National Assembly at Vienna four days later, on September 6th, by a vote of 97 to 23, authorized the acceptance of the document and instructed Dr. Renner to sign. The German Nationalists in the Assembly voted against the treaty, declaring that it was founded on brute force and that it compelled four million Germans, living in provinces now detached, to come under foreign rule. This German party also declared that ultimate union between Austria and Germany is an absolute necessity. Dr. Renner returned promptly to France and hurried arrangements were made for the ceremony of signing, which took place at St. Germain on the 10th. Dr. Renner alone faced the Peace

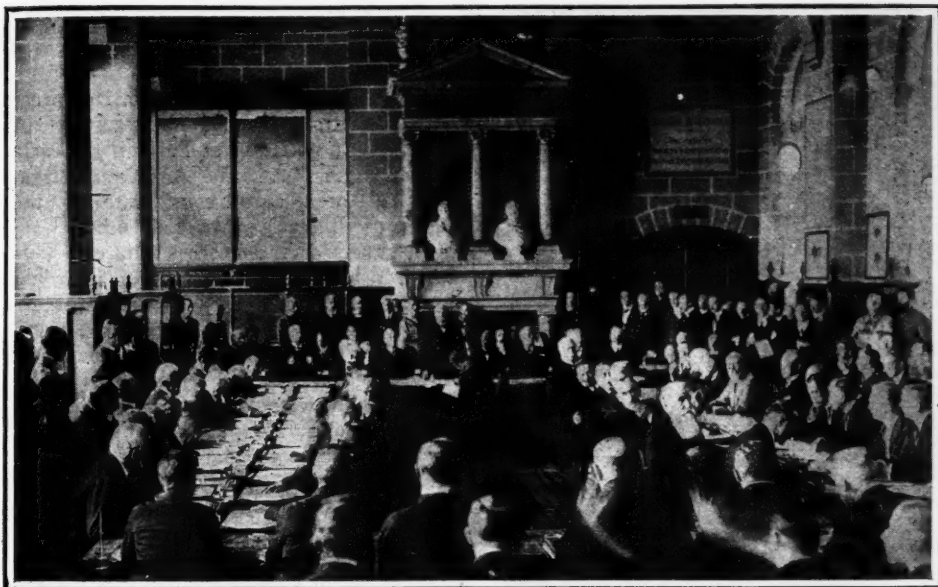


THE ONE THAT PAYS

THE WAITER: "Y-Your bill, sir!"

THE PATRON (strike fomentor): "Bill? I don't pay no bills. That's this chap's job—and it over to 'im!"

From *The Passing Show* (London)



A SCENE IN THE OLD ST. GERMAIN CHATEAU, CLEMENCEAU ADDRESSING THE AUSTRIAN DELEGATES

Conference and signed the document on behalf of his country, now reduced to the rank of a third rate power. He showed good temper and a somewhat pathetic desire for kindness and good-will among nations as well as for peace. Mr. Frank Polk, our Under Secretary of State, who has taken Mr. Lansing's place in the Peace Conference, was the first signer for the Allies, followed by Mr. Henry White and Gen. Bliss. Mr. Balfour signed with a group of British representatives; Premier Clemenceau headed the French signers; Sgr. Tittoni led the Italian delegation, and Viscount Chinda that

of Japan. All the Allies signed except the Rumanians and the Serbians (Jugo-Slavs), whose governments were opposed to the clause guaranteeing the protection of minorities in the provinces acquired by Rumania, Jugo-Slavia and other beneficiaries of the treaty. They will probably sign later.

*The Fragments
of an
Empire*

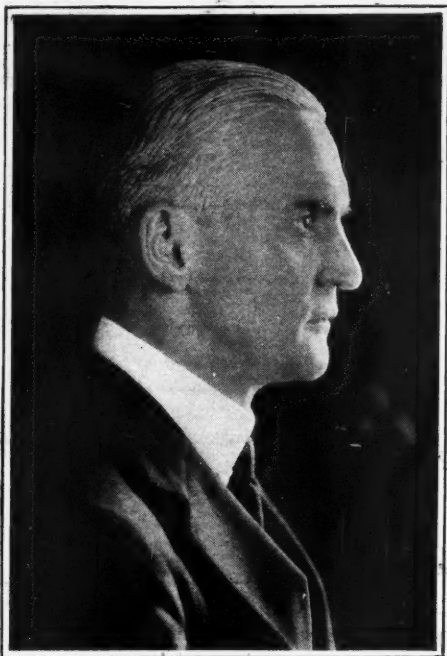
The situation in southeastern Europe is subject to kaleidoscopic changes, and there is no prospect of an immediate settling down. Mr. Simonds gives us in this number a description of the swiftly moving picture in

which Rumania has been taking the most conspicuous part. Distributing the domains that were once ruled by the Hapsburgs from the joint capitals of Vienna and Budapest, has not merely taxed the ingenuity of the map makers at Paris, but has had to undergo the more critical ordeal of practical application in the regions concerned. Rumania has been given large territories once belonging to Hungary, but is not satisfied. Furthermore, the Rumanians resent the instruction of the Paris Con-



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THE ANCIENT CHATEAU AT ST. GERMAIN-EN-LAUE, WHERE THE AUSTRIAN PEACE TREATY WAS NEGOTIATED AND SIGNED



© Harris & Ewing, Washington

HON. FRANK L. POLK, OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT
(Who is Mr. Lansing's successor as head of our delegation at the Peace Conference)

ference regarding the equitable treatment of minorities. The Rumanian march to the capital of Hungary was in defiance of the Conference at Paris. Mr. Hoover, as head of the International Food Commission, was trying to overcome famine conditions in the southeast, and he denounced so sharply the Rumanian raid upon Hungary that notice had to be taken of his criticisms. A Hapsburg scion, the Archduke Joseph, had, with alleged Rumanian connivance, been established in place of Bela Kun as head of the Hungarian Government. Mr. Hoover's attitude resulted, however, in changing that situation. It was reported on September 11th that the Bratiano Ministry had probably been upset in Rumania, where the Premier's general defiance of the Paris Conference had been about as reckless as the Carranza regime in Mexico, though more diplomatic. The southeastern complications involve the future of Greece and Bulgaria somewhat vitally; and Serbia, now merged in Jugo-Slavia, is also concerned. It will be hard to secure complete acquiescence in the terms of the treaty which has been submitted to Austria and Hungary in liquidation of the old empire. It would seem that the dis-

cussion of this complicated subject is now in its earlier rather than its later stages.

*Greece
and
Bulgaria*

The separate Bulgarian peace treaty was in its last stages of negotiation at Paris in the early part of September. The American delegation had been more considerate of the claims of Bulgaria than had other leading members of the Peace Conference. It was felt by the Americans that it would be best for all concerned in the future to allow Bulgaria an outlet on the Aegean Sea. It seemed likely that the port of Dedeagatch would be made free under international protection, thus giving the Bulgarians an outlet by means of the railroad which terminates at that Thracian harbor. Undoubtedly, the American people are in great sympathy with the aspirations of Premier Venizelos and the Greeks. Whatever may be the temporary plans for the Government of Constantinople, it is not improbable that the Greeks will ultimately be placed in authority over a city which is not only Greek in the historical sense, but which to-day has a very large Greek population.

*What Is To
Become of
Turkey?*

How the Armenians are to be protected, and what is to become of Turkey, remain unsettled problems, and Europe is keenly desirous of knowing to what extent the United States may be willing to assume responsibility for order and good government in at least the Armenian part of Asia Minor. At the present moment it must be admitted that there is no large sentiment in the United States that actively supports the proposal that our Government should accept mandates for any part of Turkey. It happens that four or five European powers have definitely determined to assume control of parts of the Turkish Empire which they desire to retain as their own spheres; and their proposal for America is that our Government should regulate other parts, especially Armenia, which for one reason or another it would not be convenient for these European countries to manage. It is not for a moment to be assumed that such proposals are sinister, or imperialistic in any bad sense. The British regime in Palestine and Mesopotamia is wholly praiseworthy; and doubtless the French in Syria would provide an excellent administration with justice to all racial and religious elements. The Greeks have strong claim to a considerable part of

Asia Minor, and Italy is not to be re-proached for desiring to administer and develop a designated region. On the other hand, a strong argument might be made for preserving the unity of Turkey and providing a general administration, under the direct auspices of the League of Nations, with subsidiary governments for different parts of Turkey in which British, French, Greek and Italian interests would have full recognition.

Mr. Polk
and
Mr. Hoover

In the work of the Peace Conference for the settlement of the affairs of southeastern Europe and the adjustment of Balkan boundaries Mr. Frank Polk is the new head of the American delegation at Paris. He has already taken so prominent a part that he has become one of the leading figures in the business of the Conference as it has turned to the completion of peace negotiations with Germany's former allies and partners, in that great Mittel-europa project which fell to pieces with Bulgaria's defection and Austria's surrender last year. No American could better represent the spirit of this country's good-will, and its disinterested desire for just and permanent solutions, than Mr. Polk. Another American who has of late been prominent in the press of Eastern Europe is Mr. Herbert Hoover, who returned to the United States in the middle of September, having brought to a conclusion his five years of intense work for the relief of suffering in war-devastated and famished regions. From the North Sea to the Bosphorus, his administrative genius is recognized and he has done much to enhance the good repute of this country abroad. Mr. Hoover's first great international task was that of organizing and carrying on Belgian relief before the United States had entered the war. As American Food Administrator in 1917 and 1918, his name was familiar in every household. Since the armistice he has managed food export and distribution on an enormous scale. It is fitting that he and Mr. Whitlock should be in America at the time of the brief visit of the King and Queen of Belgium.

The
King of
Belgium

On other pages in this number of the REVIEW we are publishing well expressed tributes to the two great leaders of Belgium in her period of trial, King Albert and Cardinal Mercier. It was the attack upon Belgium

Oct. 2



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MR. HERBERT HOOVER

(Who has returned to this country, having ended his work as head of the world's food commission)

in the summer of 1914 that decided the course of the British Government and that fixed the sentiment of the American people as to the moral issues involved in the great war. Throughout the conflict the King and Queen set the example of unselfish and untiring service while showing unfailing qualities of firm leadership. In visiting the United States, King Albert returns to a country which, in his earlier days, was for some time his home, and which gave him a part of his broad training for subsequent public life. He will receive formal honors as the guest of the President at Washington, but he will also enjoy the informal and democratic greeting of the American people who are unanimous in their regard for him and in their desire that Belgium should be wholly restored and amply protected henceforth. The visit of King Albert is to be brief because of necessary public business in Belgium. On the one hand there is to be a general election this Fall, while on the other hand there is now being recruited in Germany a great army of workmen who are about to take part in the rebuilding of places that German explosives had destroyed. The details of this necessary work cannot be otherwise than trying and painful in many



THE KING AND QUEEN OF BELGIUM, THE QUEEN SHAKING HANDS WITH A SOLDIER HERO

ways, and it will take almost as much courage to live through the next five years of readjustment as during the period of war.

The Changed Face of Europe At least King Albert's beautiful capital, Brussels, requires no reconstruction; and concentration upon the effort to repair the places that suffered most will soon show results. Gradually Belgium's intense life of industry will be revived, though the human loss can never be made up. Many a European city, meanwhile, must face greatly altered prospects, with the shifting of political scenes and the changing of economic tides. Thus, the population of St. Petersburg is only a fraction of what it was at the beginning of the war; and the magnificence of Vienna must seem a mockery in view of the shrinkage of that capital in European rank. The Hungarians had made Budapest one of the most beautiful and progressive cities in the world, and they are not likely to permit its collapse, or its serious decline in commercial importance; but its further progress must be retarded for a long time to come. In short, the face of Europe is destined to be marvelously changed by the war, even where no devastation was wrought. As Europeans look forward to the resumption of trade and the recovery of some portion of their accustomed prosperity, they are counting quite largely upon the spendings of countless American visitors whose curiosity to see the changed Europe is regarded as a source of future wealth that will yield large returns for many years. The American ships,

about which Mr. Knappen writes so instructively in this number of the REVIEW, will help to transport the hosts of expected American visitors, while also helping many European families to find homes on this side of the Atlantic.

Germans Will Seek New Homes

It is reported that several million Germans are listed officially as desiring to emigrate, and that the entire movement will be under government management. It is understood that the South American countries will be the destination of a majority of these emigrants and that many will seek to enter Mexico. German population had grown rapidly, and Germany's increasing foreign trade had given employment at home to hosts of people whose livelihood was gained in the making of articles for export. With the falling off of German trade, there must be some outlet for surplus population. On the economic side, Germany's chief anxiety at present seems to be due to the danger of a shortage of coal and other raw materials.

The New German Constitution

In August, after several months of debate, the German National Assembly adopted a permanent form of constitution for the Empire (Reich). The first part of the document defines the German Reich as a federal republic, and fixes the relations between the larger entity and the several states. The central government is given not only the usual authority as to foreign affairs, defense, coinage and currency, customs, posts



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A SCENE IN THE HUNGARIAN CAPITAL, BUDAPEST, SHOWING RUMANIAN SOLDIERS IN A PRINCIPAL STREET

and telegraphs, and so on, but it also has jurisdiction in respect to a wide sphere of social life that leaves the individual states in a very subordinate place. These states are to have popular governments like the members of our own union, but with a less degree of sovereignty. The President is to be chosen by the whole German people for the term of seven years. The President's position is much more important than in France, and is more like that of the American President. There is to be a Chancellor as head of the Cabinet, whose office is less commanding than that of the French or British Prime Ministers. There will be an Imperial Council with at least one representative from each state, Prussia not being permitted to have more than two-fifths of the total number. The Reichstag is restored as the popular legislative branch, with the Imperial Council as an Upper House. The second part of the Constitution contains such guarantees of individual and social liberty as have place in our constitutions, as so-called "bills of rights." Political equality of men and women is provided, and entire freedom of conscience and worship. There must be eight years of universal school attendance, and pupils must attend advanced schools until eighteen years old. Councils are created for industries, and employees are to have a voice in decisions. If

Germany had adopted this free constitution half a dozen years ago, there could have been no general war in Europe, and immeasurable suffering would have been averted.

*Fragments
of News
From Russia*

News from Russia continues to be contradictory and baffling. It is gratifying to know that American troops are not to be obliged to spend another Arctic winter on the borders of the White Sea. In England, as in America, the pressure of public opinion for the withdrawal of troops from Russia could not be resisted, and it is said that all British troops are now to be sent home from Archangel, although this may expose the anti-Bolshevist population of Northern Russia to serious danger. It is probable that the Allies will continue to supply the anti-Bolsheviks with munitions. Our Ambassador to Japan, Mr. Morris, a few weeks ago reported, after a visit to Admiral Kolchak, that this dictator is upon the whole the best man for present leadership in Siberia, although short of military supplies and without a well-organized civil administration. It seems likely that the Kolchak regime will meet its conclusive test within a few weeks at most. Its new fighting line is reported as being about 200 miles west of Omsk. Meanwhile the Japanese have not been withdrawing their forces from Siberia, and it was re-

ported last month that Admiral Kolchak was negotiating for Japanese military assistance on a considerable scale. The Bolsheviks were also occupied last month with fighting the Poles on the River Dvina; and, along with contradictory news about Kolchak's advance, there was a seemingly authentic report that General Denikin, the anti-Bolshevist leader in the southwest of Russia, had captured the City of Kiev. This seems to bring Denikin into coöperation with General Petlura, the Ukrainian leader, who is also fighting the Bolsheviks. Upon the whole, the fragments of news, when patched together, seem rather unfavorable for the Bolsheviks. Their propaganda work in Germany and Hungary has collapsed, and it is possible that their rule in Russia may be nearing its end. Yet their own news service keeps us guessing.

*Training for
National
Service*

We have more than once commented upon England's new education act, under which every boy and girl is to be fitted for an intelligent place in the community, with instruction continuing until the verge of manhood and womanhood. Ger-

many now makes universal education a constitutional requirement. We are publishing in this number (beginning on page 304) a most timely article from Professor John Erskine regarding the kind of training that ought henceforth to be given in the United States, so that the rising generation may be fitted alike for peace and for war. Professor Erskine's experience in directing the educational work of our army abroad has given him a point of view that should be widely studied. He advocates the use of our cantonments for a period of compulsory training under military discipline that would occupy approximately

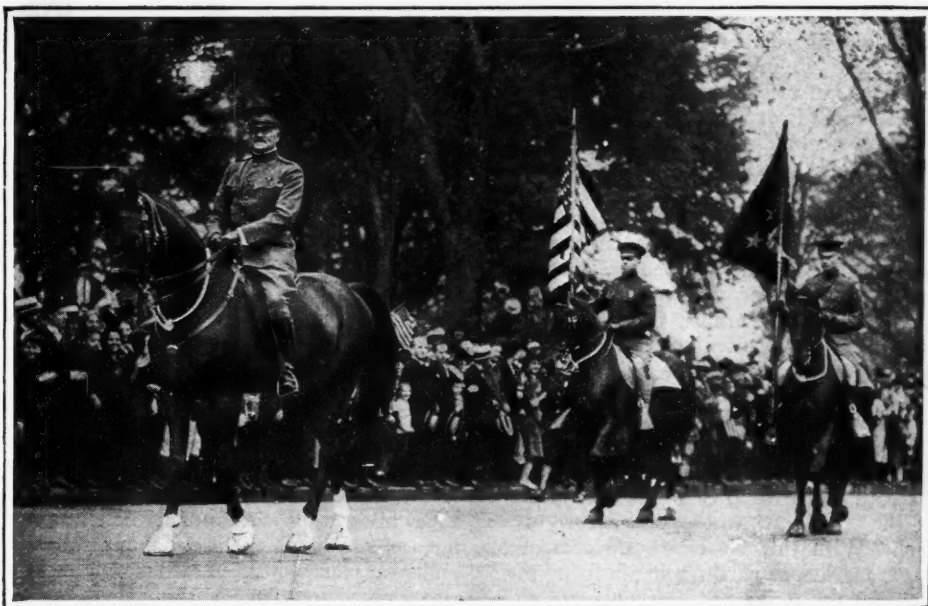
the time of a school year, coming at about the end of the average high-school course, and at about the beginning of the average college course. On the educational side, Mr. Erskine would make the work in every sense the full equivalent of the freshman year at college, while giving the student a physical development and habits of application far superior to anything obtainable in other ways. After such a year of training, young Americans would be well fitted either to proceed with college and professional studies, or to take up practical work.

*From the
Military
Standpoint*

General Leonard Wood, last month, before the Senate Military Affairs Committee, advocated universal military training for a period of approximately six months, and undoubtedly he would find it easy to adapt his program to that of Professor Erskine. The War Department and the present military authorities favor the maintenance of a very large standing army, while General Wood advocates a much smaller army, with relatively large investments in the business of training millions of boys for their responsibilities as good citizens and defenders of the country. With all the mistakes and excessive expenditures due to the speed with which the country made itself the foremost of military powers, we have reason to be gratified with the results insofar as the young men of the country have been trained for the years that lie immediately before us. If an emergency should arise at any time within ten years, we could at once organize an army of several million men, made up largely of those trained in the period from 1916 to 1920. We need military supplies and methods by which to keep such new agencies as aviation abreast of the



GENERAL LEONARD A. WOOD WITH PRESIDENT LOWELL OF HARVARD, AS SEEN AT A REVIEW OF THE HARVARD REGIMENT LAST YEAR



© Paul Thompson

GENERAL PERSHING LEADING THE NEW YORK PARADE OF THE FIRST DIVISION, ON ITS RETURN FROM SERVICE IN FRANCE AND GERMANY LAST MONTH

times. Meanwhile, a system of training for citizen duty, which should include military service, police work, fire-fighting, and so on, should be provided for the annual crop of eighteen-year-olds who cannot safely be neglected. It would be a wise investment.

*General
Pershing's
Reception*

The welcome accorded General Pershing on his return last month was sincere and enthusiastic. It was attended with many expressions of appreciation from foreign authorities as well as from Pershing's fellow citizens. If some other general had been sent abroad to be the Chief Commander of our forces, he might have done as well as Pershing, but no military critic has arisen to argue that someone else would have done better. He seemed to rise in an adequate way to the ever increasing responsibilities of his task. The New York parade was highly impressive, and the dignity and modesty with which Pershing in the first days of his return met plaudits and compliments on all hands, fully sustained the hopes of the country that he would measure up to the high personal standards of our foremost military heroes of the past. Appearing before a great mass of discharged soldiers in New York under the auspices of the new society called

the American Legion, General Pershing warned the boys to keep the organization out of politics. It was pleasant to note that no attempt was made to give the General's return a partisan bearing, or his welcome a political suggestion. The year 1920 will shape its own political situations.

*The Cummins
Railroad Bill*

On September 2 the bill for reorganizing the affairs and operations of the railroads was presented to the Senate by the sub-committee (of the Interstate Commerce Committee) which has been engaged for some months in drafting the measure. It is known as the Cummins bill because Senator Albert B. Cummins of Iowa is chairman of the drafting committee. The bill provides for greatly increased powers for the Interstate Commerce Commission; for supervision and control of rates, wages, operation and financing by the Government, for regional consolidations of the country's railroads into from twenty to thirty-five different systems, and for the termination of Government administration and the return of the roads to their private owners on the last day of the month in which the bill goes into effect. The measure represents the Senate Committee's best judgment as to the solution of the all-

important railroad problem, after hearing a half hundred different proposals, including the radical "Plumb Plan," which, however, does not seem to have had any important influence on Senator Cummins' program.

*Important
Features
of the Bill*

The salient features of the measure are the provisions for fixing wages and rates, participation of the employees in control, the limitation of the investors' profits, and the prohibition of strikes and lockouts. It creates a Committee of Wages and Working Conditions, composed of four representatives of labor and four representatives of the railway companies; a majority vote to decide. If the wage committee is evenly divided on any question, it is referred to a new body provided by the Cummins bill, a railway transportation board, made up of five members appointed by the President, whose decision is to be final. With this Governmental control of wages and labor's participation in fixing them provided for strikes and lockouts are absolutely prohibited. Labor and the Government are also to have a voice in the general operations of the railway properties, through the presence on the board of directors of each corporation of two members chosen from the classified employees and two directors representing the Government.

*Limitation
on
Profits*

One of the important differences of opinion among those who have been constructing new plans for railway operation has concerned the voluntary or compulsory consolidation into regional systems. The Cummins measure permits voluntary consolidation for seven years, after which the process would become compulsory. As to the profits of the roads, the Government is to make no guarantee, but on the other hand it is provided that the revenues to the owners shall be limited to "fair" dividends based on the physical value of the properties as ascertained by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Profits above this "fair" return are to be used, half for the benefit of the employees, to lessen working hazards, extend hospital relief, insurance, pensions and technical education and to establish a profit-sharing system. The other half of excess earnings would be used for equipping the railways. In presenting the bill Senator Cummins said openly that something similar to the measure would have to be put into effect, or else Government ownership would be inevitable.

*Criticisms
of the
Bill*

Doubtless the authors of this bill scarcely expect that it will become law as it stands, or even nearly as it stands, but it does now form the official starting point for the constructive and remedial railway legislation recognized by everyone to be absolutely necessary to prevent disaster. The most vigorous criticisms of the Cummins measure that have been made public so far have come from the representatives and spokesmen for the investors who own the roads. They have been able to make out a strong case against a program that limits their utmost hopes to a "fair" return while making no very definite preparation, much less a guarantee, for their receiving any revenue at all. Dismissing the interests of investors from the discussion, it would seem from the standpoint of the public itself that there would be small hope of getting the capital necessary to finance, maintain, and extend our railways under a plan which offered so precarious and limited return for the money. The railroads are not profitable; and in this measure there is no definite formula for making them earn money. But there is a refusal to allow the owners to take more than so much of what they may earn. What inducement can such a situation present to an investor as compared with the securities of a steel factory, a copper mine, an automobile business, a chain of stores, which are already making money and in which his return is not limited at all?

*Low Rates
For Foreign
Exchange*

One of the most puzzling current problems of the much troubled industrial and financial world is the unprecedented decline in foreign exchanges which has now brought the English pound sterling, the French franc and the Italian lira to points, measured in the United States dollar, very much lower than they have been in several generations. The pound sterling was normally worth about \$4.83 in our money, the franc about 20c., and the lira about the same. At the end of the last month, the value of a pound sterling in American money had fallen to \$4.24. Instead of an exchange rate of five francs for a dollar, it required nearly 8 francs. And the Italian merchant found that when he purchased American goods, he had to produce more than 9¼ lira, instead of approximately 5, for every dollar. Furthermore, experts in international exchange predict still further declines because of the impera-

tive needs of European countries for our commodities, which will further add to the supply of commercial bills in the American market. Bankers are at their wits' ends to know how to remedy the situation. Some of them suggest that it might be done by the formation of a joint gold pool by the United States, England and France. Certainly something must be done if trade is to be continued between America and Europe. During last June, our exports reached a value of \$918,000,000, half of which went to England, France and Italy. These countries sent us in return imports of only \$30,000,000, or scarcely one-fifteenth of our exports to them.

*What Europe
Is Buying
From Us*

Of these June exports to Europe from the United States, France took \$23,000,000 worth of steel and iron in various forms, from locomotives to wire nails, while \$11,000,000 worth of railroad cars was another large item. Wheat and flour to France amounted to \$21,000,000; raw cotton, \$14,000,000; sugar, meat and condensed milk, nearly \$17,000,000; and tobacco, \$3,000,000. In the case of England, which is our largest single customer,—taking in a single month goods valued at about \$300,000,000,—the largest item was shipments of meat coming to \$78,000,000; raw cotton for the looms of the midlands, \$54,000,000; wheat and flour, \$33,000,000; tobacco, \$12,000,000; condensed milk and sugar, about \$18,000,000, and leather, \$54,000,000. Italy's imports from America are of the same kind, though of course in smaller quantities. The figures of trade for July and August had not been published when these notes were written, but are known to have fallen off rapidly from those quoted above. Unless something can be done to correct the abnormal situation in foreign exchange, it is obvious that Europe's purchases from us must continue to be scaled down. An Italian purchaser buying shoes from a New England manufacturer at \$3.50 per pair, now finds they cost him as many lira as are normally equivalent to nearly \$7.00.

*Our Great
Mineral
Output*

The recent Government report on the mineral resources of the United States shows an extraordinary increase in production value over last year, being more than five and one half billion dollars, a half billion in excess of the figures for the previous year, two billion

more than those of 1916, and more than double the amount of any previous year in our history. This was in spite of a great decrease in the output of coinage metals. The gold miner, being bound legally to a fixed price for his product, finds the cost of production soaring sky high, and the mines with smaller margins of profit must close. There was a notable decrease, too, in materials for building, which declined some 26 per cent. These declines were much more than made up by the increased demand for, and production of, petroleum products and iron and steel. Concerning petroleum, the report warns that the production of oil in America is increasing more slowly than the consumption and that we need additional foreign sources of supply. The United States is the greatest consumer of petroleum in the world. The country's current output is at a rate of 18,000,000 barrels per year greater than in 1918, and still the stocks are being depleted, Mexico making up a part of the deficit. The latest figures of the Geological Survey show that instead of falling off with peace, the demand for oil has actually increased.

*A Plan
to Pool
British Debts*

Mr. P. W. Wilson gives in this issue of the REVIEW a picture of Great Britain's financial situation, which to many economists seems so desperate as to call for the most urgent measures. A plan which Mr. Wilson has not mentioned in his article has been submitted to the British and the Dominion Governments by Mr. W. A. Watt, acting Prime Minister of Australia. This is to pool the war debt of the whole Empire, the total amounting now to 7,584,000,000 pounds sterling. It is argued that the several parts of the Empire should carry together the financial load of the war, just as they shouldered the burden of fighting the war. It is urged that the combination would be powerful in credit to a degree not known before in the financial world, and that millions of pounds of interest would be saved. It is proposed to establish an "Empire War Debts Commission." The Imperial war debts would be managed and ultimately paid by the Commission, the existing loans being converted into war loan stock as they matured. Each Government would pay to the Commission a yearly sum equal to the amount payable yearly on the last day of 1919 for (a) interest on war debts; (b) expenses, and (c) sinking fund.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From August 15 to September 13, 1919)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

August 19.—The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations meets with the President at the White House, and questions him for three hours and a half to acquire information on and interpretation of certain sections of the Peace Treaty; a stenographic report of the meeting is made public.

The House passes over the President's veto a bill repealing the Daylight Saving law; the vote is 223 to 101, eight more than the necessary two-thirds.

August 20.—In the Senate, Mr. Pittman (Dem., Nev.) introduces a resolution embracing four interpretative reservations of the Peace Treaty, designed to meet criticisms and yet to have the approval of the President; the reservations would be separate from ratification of the treaty.

In the House, Mr. Johnson, chairman of the Committee on Immigration, introduces a measure which refuses admission of immigrants for two years.

August 21.—In the Senate, Mr. Fernald (Rep., Me.) criticizes the growing tendency toward federal supervision of American business.

August 23.—The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations votes 9 to 8 in favor of amending the Peace Treaty by substituting China for Japan as the nation to which Germany must surrender Shantung.

August 26.—The Senate Foreign Relations Com-

mittee votes 9 to 7 to amend the Peace Treaty by eliminating the United States from membership on all commissions except that dealing with reparations; the amendment is proposed by Mr. Fall (Rep., N. M.).

August 27.—In the Senate, Mr. Lenroot (Rep., Wis.) introduces a bill providing for unification of the railroads of the country; 40 per cent. of excess profits would go to employees.

August 28.—The House passes a bill designed to give the rank of General to John J. Pershing for life.

August 29.—In the Senate, Mr. Knox (Rep., Pa.) urges the rejection of the Peace Treaty as harsh and cruel to Germany. . . . The Foreign Relations Committee adopts an amendment to the treaty, 9 votes to 8, offered by Mr. Johnson (Rep., Cal.), assuring the United States as many votes in the League of Nations as are possessed by the British Empire; another amendment adopted would prevent dependencies like the British Dominions voting upon questions affecting the mother country or other dependencies of that country.

August 30.—In the Senate, Mr. La Follette (Rep., Wis.) speaks for the fourth consecutive day in an attempt to defeat the Public Lands Leasing bill.

September 2.—In the Senate, Mr. Cummins (Rep., Ia.), chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, introduces a railroad bill which embodies results of several months' consideration by a sub-committee; it provides for immediate return of the roads to private ownership, creates a railway transportation board, and divides the roads into 20 to 35 separate systems; employees are to share in excess profits. . . . The bill providing the permanent rank of General for Pershing is passed.

September 3.—The Senate passes the bill to permit the leasing of public lands containing deposits of oil, coal, and gas.

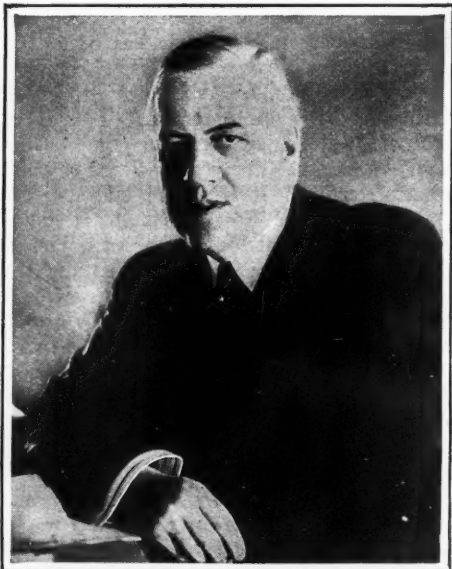
September 5.—The Senate adopts the measure designed to enforce nation-wide prohibition.

September 8.—In the Senate, Mr. Poindexter (Rep., Wash.) begins what is believed to be a series of speeches by opponents of the Peace Treaty, to "answer" the President's addresses throughout the country. . . . The Committee on Foreign Relations begins hearings on conditions in Mexico, with Mr. Fall (Rep., N. M.) as chairman of a sub-committee.

The House passes a bill creating the permanent rank of Admiral for William S. Sims (in command of American naval forces in European waters during the war) and for William S. Benson (Chief of Naval Operations).

September 9.—The House passes a bill designed to permit coöperation of the national banking system with corporations engaged in export trade.

September 10.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) presents the majority report of the Committee on Foreign Relations on the Peace



HON. A. MITCHELL PALMER, ATTORNEY GENERAL
(Who has been leading the Administration's fight to reduce the cost of living by preventing exorbitant prices for the necessities of life)

Treaty, proposing many amendments and four reservations.

September 11.—In the Senate, Mr. Hitchcock (Dem., Neb.) submits a minority report of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The House votes an inquiry into charges that the Postmaster-General has failed to observe Civil Service rules.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

August 18.—It is held by a Nebraska court that the federal prohibition amendment has not been ratified in that State until the voters approve the action of the legislature; Nebraska had been counted as the thirty-sixth State to ratify, completing the necessary three-fourths.

August 21.—President Wilson, replying to questions submitted by Senator Fall, declares that he has not the power to proclaim peace prior to ratification of the treaty, and that such action would be a stain upon our national honor.

August 25.—The President receives a large delegation of railroad shopmen, who demand 85 cents wages per hour; he issues a statement to the public, urging a truce in wage questions pending readjustment of living costs, and declares that "demands unwisely made and passionately insisted upon at this time menace the peace and prosperity of the country as nothing else could."

August 26.—The Federal Trade Commission recommends a Government monopoly of refrigerator cars and those used for transportation of livestock, to break the private control by five great packing companies.

In the Tennessee Democratic primary, Lee M. Russell (Lieutenant Governor) is nominated for Governor.

September 3.—The Virginia House of Delegates and the Alabama Senate defeat a motion to ratify the federal woman suffrage amendment.

Gen. John J. Pershing is commissioned a General for life, under special legislation passed by Congress.

September 4.—President Wilson begins an extended tour of the country, "to point out to the people what the peace treaty contains and what it seeks to do"; he speaks first at Columbus, Ohio, and later at Indianapolis, Ind.

September 5.—The Secretary of Commerce, William C. Redfield, resigns from the cabinet, to take effect November 1.

The President addresses two audiences in St. Louis, Mo.

September 6.—The President makes addresses in Kansas City, Mo., and Des Moines, Ia.

September 8.—President Wilson speaks at Omaha, Neb., and Sioux Falls, S. D.

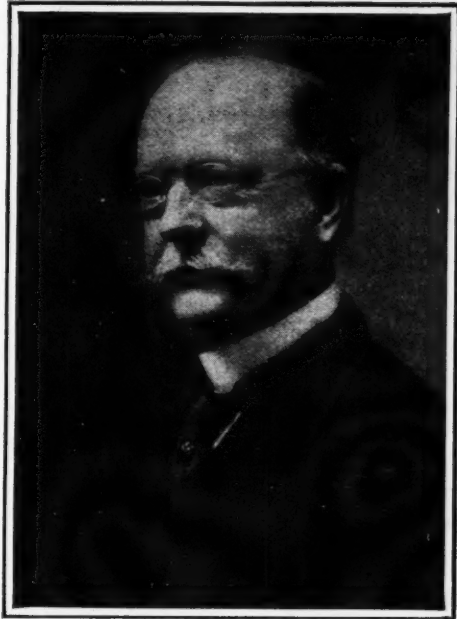
September 9-10.—The New Hampshire House and Senate ratify the woman suffrage amendment to the federal constitution.

September 10.—The President speaks at Bismark, N. D.

September 11.—The President makes two addresses in Montana, at Billings and Helena.

September 9.—The President addresses the Minnesota legislature and public audiences in Minneapolis and St. Paul.

September 12.—The President speaks in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, and Spokane, Wash.



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HON. WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, OF NEW YORK, WHO HAS RESIGNED FROM THE CABINET

(Mr. Redfield has served six years and a half as head of the Department of Commerce. His work has been performed quietly and modestly, but with great intelligence and fidelity. His retirement is a loss to the public service and to the commercial interests of the country)

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

August 15.—The Prince of Wales, arriving at St. John, N. B., sets foot on Canadian soil for the first time.

August 16.—Federico Tinoco, for several years unrecognized President of Nicaragua, reaches Jamaica on his way to Europe, having recently fled after an attempt at assassination.

Liouba Davidovitch becomes Premier of Serbia.

August 18.—Premier Lloyd George, addressing the House of Commons on Britain's domestic affairs, warns that expenditures must be reduced and production increased; he announces Government plans to abandon ultra-protection, to buy certain coal mines and give miners a share in control, and to introduce legislation establishing a 48-hour working week in nearly all industries and an industrial council of employees and workmen.

August 19.—The Japanese Government announces changes in the administration of Korea, substituting civil rule for military and declaring a purpose to treat Korea in all respects similar to Japan proper.

August 20.—President Ebert takes oath of office under the constitution recently adopted by the National Assembly; a notable section of the constitution limits any state (Prussia) to two-fifths of the votes in the Council or upper chamber.

August 29.—The Prince of Wales holds an

informal public reception at the City Hall in Ottawa.

General discussion of the Peace Treaty comes to an end in the French Chamber of Deputies, the Socialist members refraining from speaking.

September 2.—An unsuccessful attempt is made to assassinate Baron Saito, new Governor of Korea, upon his arrival in Seoul.

September 6.—The Austrian National Assembly votes 97 to 23 to sign the peace treaty, first adopting a resolution of protest.

September 8.—President Bertrand of Honduras abandons his office and takes passage for the United States, upon the approach of revolutionary forces under Gen. Lopez Gutierrez.

September 9.—The Prince of Wales, touring Canada, reaches the western metropolis of Winnipeg.

September 12.—It is reported that Admiral Kolchak's southern army has surrendered to the Bolshevik forces in Russia.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Ireland, Viscount French, prohibits meetings of the so-called Irish Parliament; many arrests are made and headquarters searched for treasonable literature.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

August 15.—Agreement is announced between the British and Persian governments under which Great Britain will furnish advice and financial aid in the rebuilding of Persia; the agreement meets with some criticism in France.

The Peace Conference informs Rumania that readjustments in Hungary will be made by the assembly of the Allied and associated powers and not by the Rumanian army or the Rumanian government.

August 16.—King Alphonso signs the law passed by the Spanish parliament authorizing acceptance of the League of Nations and labor sections of the Peace Treaty.

August 17.—Letters from two American aviators lost in Mexico and captured by bandits inform United States Army authorities that they are held for \$15,000 ransom.

August 19.—The two United States Army aviators are released by Mexican bandits in exchange for ransom money; a troop of cavalry, with airplanes as scouts, immediately crosses the border to search the mountains for the bandits.

August 20.—American troops in Mexico break up a bandit stronghold in a mountain pass, killing four men.

August 22.—The Supreme Council of Paris informs Archduke Joseph that he must abandon his leadership in the Hungarian Government in the interest of European peace.

August 23.—Archduke Joseph relinquishes authority in Hungary upon demand of the Allies.

August 27.—It becomes known that the American High Commissioner in Turkey, Rear-Admiral Bristol, has given warning that Armenian massacres must cease.

August 29.—The United States recognizes President Leguia as head of the de facto government in Peru.

September 2.—The revised text of a peace treaty is handed to the Austrian delegates, five days

being allowed for acceptance or rejection without further change.

September 5.—The Supreme Council at Paris completes the text of a treaty of peace with Bulgaria.

September 9.—The leaders of three revolutionary factions in Mexico petition President Wilson for a hearing "to plead the cause of oppressed Mexico"; they suggest a conference of all the elements controlling their country, to consider reconstruction and restoration.

September 10.—The peace treaty between Austria and the Allied and associated powers is signed at St. Germain, near Paris, Chancellor Karl Renner signing for Austria; Frank L. Polk heads the American signers; the Rumanian and Jugoslav delegates refuse to accept the treaty.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

August 16.—The Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that the cost of living has increased (in New York City, for example) 79 per cent. since 1914.

August 17-18.—The subway and elevated lines in New York City are tied up by a strike of employees, who demand an increase of 50 per cent. in wages; the strike is ended through mediation, the men receiving 25 per cent. increase and arbitration of remaining demands.

August 21.—The great Pearl Harbor drydock constructed for the United States Navy in Hawaii, is formally opened by Secretary Daniels; the structure is 1000 feet long, and had been under construction since 1910.

August 24.—Railroad service in Los Angeles and Southern California is halted by employees in sympathy with strikers on electric roads; the men refuse to obey instructions from the Brotherhoods and the Railroad Administration to return to work; fruit and livestock shipments are abandoned en route.

August 28.—The will of Andrew Carnegie distributes an estate of \$30,000,000, after philanthropies during his lifetime exceeding \$350,000,000; he provides annuities for the two widows of Presidents, for the ex-President, and also for several British statesmen.

August 30-31.—Race rioting in Knoxville, Tenn., results in the death of two persons; order is restored by the militia.

August 31.—The President in a Labor Day message announces that he is calling a conference of representatives of labor and those who direct labor, to discuss fundamental means for bettering relationship of capital and labor and putting the wage question upon another footing.

September 6.—An actors' strike in New York City, which had lasted four weeks and closed all the principal theaters, is ended by a compromise agreement.

September 8.—General Pershing arrives in the United States, after two and a quarter years as commander-in-chief of the American Expeditionary Forces in France.

September 9.—Cardinal Mercier, heroic defender of the Belgian people's rights during the German invasion, arrives in the United States to convey the gratitude of the Belgians to the people of America (see page 376).



A TYPICAL SCENE IN CANADA DURING THE VISIT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES

(Everywhere the Prince displayed an enthusiastic desire to meet with the Canadian people, who on their part seized every opportunity to welcome him)

A large part of the Boston police force goes on strike after the suspension of patrolmen active in forming a union.

The Trades Union Congress at Glasgow, Scotland, refuses to accept the radical doctrine of "direct action" in the present political and industrial crisis.

September 10.—Representatives of steel workers' unions, meeting in Washington, declare a strike against the United States Steel Corporation, after failing to arrange a conference with the officials of the corporation.

General Pershing leads a parade in New York City of the First Division, which had been the first to embark overseas, first to fight, and the first to enter German territory as troops of occupation.

September 12.—The Boston police vote to return to duty after an appeal by the president of the American Federation of Labor that they await the outcome of the labor conference called by the President.

OBITUARY

August 19.—Rudolph Edward Schirmer, a prominent music publisher, 60.

August 23.—Brig.-Gen. James Worden Pope, U. S. A., retired, 73. . . . Floyd Wilding Triggs, cartoonist, 47. . . . Augustus George Vernon Harcourt, a distinguished British chemist, 84.

August 24.—Theodore Cooper, of New York, civil engineer and authority on iron and steel construction, 81. . . . Joseph F. Naumann, president of the Democratic party in Germany, 59.

August 26.—Adolph Werner, for more than

half a century professor of German at the College of the City of New York, 80. . . . Sir Richard Crawford, financial and trade representative of Great Britain at Washington during the war, 56.

August 28.—Gen. Louis Botha, premier of the Union of South Africa and former Boer leader, 56.

August 29.—Rear Adm. Thomas Chalmers McLean, U. S. N., retired, 71.

August 31.—Dr. Joseph Zeisler, of Chicago, an authority on dermatology, 65.

September 4.—Eben Briggs Thomas, head of the Lehigh Valley Railroad for seventeen years, 77.

September 6.—Admiral Baron Charles William Beresford, the famous British naval commander and critic, 73.

September 7.—James Walker Osborne, a noted New York criminal lawyer, 61. . . . Horace Traubel, editor, poet, and biographer of Walt Whitman, 60. . . . Charles M. Jacobs, who designed and supervised construction of railroad tunnels under the Hudson River, 69.

September 8.—Josiah Quincy, Mayor of Boston, 1895-1899, 60.

September 9.—John Mitchell, the labor leader, for ten years president of the United Mine Workers, 49. . . . Anthony R. Burnam, former Chief Justice of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, 74.

September 11.—George Gunton, teacher, editor, and politician, 74. . . . Baron Ichizayemon Morimura, a Japanese merchant with connections throughout the world, 80.

CARTOONS OF UNREST



PROBLEM: HOW TO BRING THE ONE DOWN WITHOUT THE OTHER

(A continuation from last month of the much-discussed H. C. of L. serial)

From the *Telegram* (Portland, Oregon)



ONE OF THESE IS RULER OF MEXICO

From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)



A NATURAL PHENOMENON

(A personal experience that most of us have had recently)

From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)



WHEN THE POLICEMAN STRIKES

From the *World* (New York)



GOING TO TALK TO THE BOSS
From the News (Chicago)



THE EMPTY PLATE!
From the Knickerbocker Press (Albany, N. Y.)



COAST TO COAST
From the World (New York)



OFF AGAIN, ON AGAIN, GONE AGAIN
From the National Republican

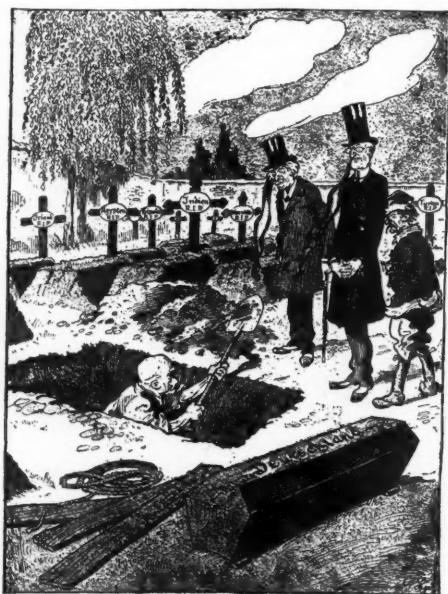


THE GERMAN ASS

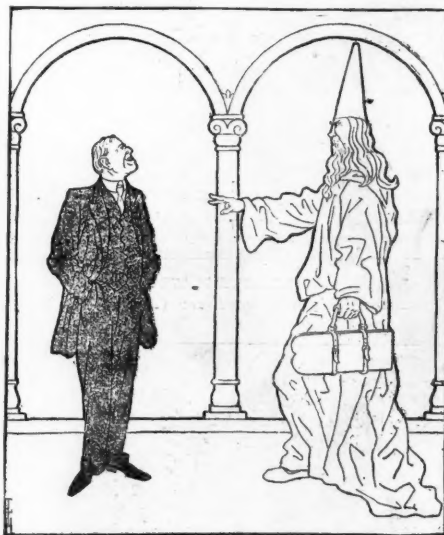
THE ENTENTE: "Only an ass can carry such a load."

(The sacks are labeled "Blame for the War," "Loss of the Colonies," "Surrender of the Kaiser," "Restoration of Belgium and Northern France," "Giving up of Merchant Ships," etc.)

From Kladderadatsch (Berlin)

GRAVE-DIGGER CLEMENCEAU AND THE SAINTS
(He that diggeth a pit for others shall fall into it himself)

From Wahre Jacob (Stuttgart, Germany)



THE FOURTEEN POINTS AND THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

"Woodrow Wilson, what about your fourteen points?"
"Don't disturb yourself, O Lord—we didn't keep to your ten commandments, either."

From Simplicissimus (Munich, Germany)



KILLING THE GOOSE THAT LAYS THE GOLDEN EGGS
From the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane, Wash.)



TWO GOATS MET ON A NARROW BRIDGE, AND AS NEITHER WOULD GIVE WAY THERE WAS A TERRIFIC TUGGLE, WHICH ENDED IN BOTH FALLING INTO THE CATARACT

From the *Chronicle* (Manchester, England)



"PUSSY-FOOTING IT!"
(Repelling the American prohibition invasion)
From the *Bystander* (London)



THE MAD DOG
From *Opinion* (London)



IT ISN'T THE RIGHT METHOD
From the *Times* (Los Angeles)



THE BUCK-JUMPER
From the *World* (London)

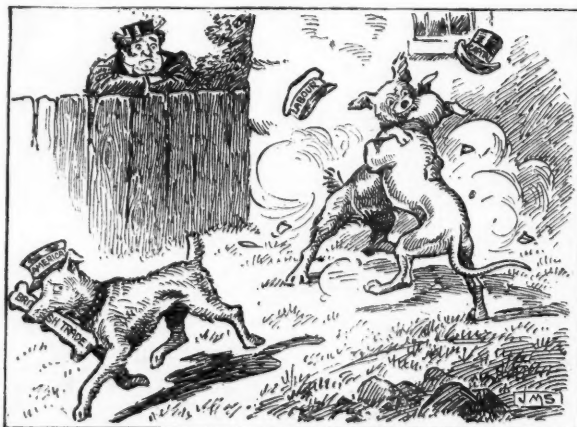
IN their pictorial comments on the industrial unrest of the day, English and American cartoonists are in general agreement as to point of view and even, to a certain extent, as to method of treatment. Compare, for example, "Germany's Opportunity," from the *New York Times*, and "An Old Fable Illustrated," from the *London News of the World*, both of which are reproduced on this page. In each instance the tussle between capital and labor is rep-



HIS TO MAKE OR MAR
From the *Daily Tribune* (Sioux City)



GERMANY'S OPPORTUNITY
From the *Times* (New York)



AN OLD FABLE ILLUSTRATED
From *News of the World* (London)



SINBAD THE SAILOR AND THE OLD
MAN OF THE SEA
From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)



"WANTED AN ELASTIC DOLLAR!"
From the Knickerbocker Press (Albany, New York)

resented as the occasion of a trade rival's successful raid. In the one case the rival is Germany, in the other, Uncle Sam.

The cost of living naturally continues to engage the interest of the cartoonists, as of other folk.



RUNNING AMUCK
UNCLE SAM: "I don't know where we're going, but we're surely on the way."
From the Leader (Pittsburgh, Pa.)
Oct. 3



"MAZEPPA!"
From the Bulletin (San Francisco)



VERY "DRASTIC MEASURES!"
From John Bull (London)



GENTLEMEN, IS THERE ROOM FOR ONE MORE?
From the Star (St. Louis, Mo.)



THE FALL OF COMMUNISM

WILSON: "The other paw, please."
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)



THE DYING LION

(Is British trade to be sacrificed to the extreme demands of British labor?)
From the *World* (London)

This page also illustrates the community of viewpoint between the United States and England on the labor question.



"NOTHING DOING!"

From the *Bystander* (London)



WHO WILL RUN THE RAILROADS?

From the Plain Dealer (Cleveland, Ohio)

As to the management of American railroads, the confusion of counsel now prevailing is amusingly pictured by the cartoonists of Cleveland, Omaha, and Portland.



SATISFIED!

From the World-Herald (Omaha, Nebraska)



MAKING IT CLEAR TO HIM

From the Oregonian (Portland, Oregon)



KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM, WITH QUEEN ELIZABETH AND CROWN PRINCE LEOPOLD
(The King has just finished an airplane flight)

BELGIUM'S SPIRIT INCARNATE

BY HENRY VAN DYKE

(Former American Minister to the Netherlands)

AMERICA has never received a nobler guest than Albert, King of the Belgians.

Years ago he visited our country, as a simple, earnest young prince, preparing himself for the unknown duties of a perilous throne. He was quietly studying and "seeing the world" because he felt that his kingdom would be part of it and must stand or fall by its eternal laws.

He saw the world to good purpose. The education of the Prince developed the qualities of the man: modesty with confidence, courage with patience, justice with sympathy, integrity of heart, and a kind of moral sagacity which trusted right against might.

In the years of peace these talents made his reign prosperous and won the heart of a difficult people. In the fierce emergency of war they stood the strain; rose to that spiritual height of genius which upholds the right "in scorn of consequence"; and they held the heart of that difficult people loyal to their good cause embodied in their King. In thousands of the huts and lowly lodgings where the poor exiles of Belgium had found refuge, homeless, hungry, and distressed, have I seen enshrined and honored some simple picture of Albert, Roi des Belges.

It is true that Belgium saved Europe. Let us remember also that the story of Belgium is the epitome of the war. The Ger-

man spirit is unmasked in her invasion; the spirit of the Allies is incarnate in the resistance of her people led by their King. Nobler words have never been spoken than those which he addressed to the Parliament at Brussels on the fateful morning of August 4, 1914: "I have faith in our destinies. A country which defends itself commands the respect of all; that country does not perish. God will be with us in our just cause."

Those fearless words were not only spoken, they were lived out. For more than four years of struggle and suffering the King shared the perils, privations, and hardships of the army and the people. He clung to the last unconquered corner of Belgium as if it were his Holy Land. Whatever else he was forced to surrender, he never gave up honor and hope. And when at last by the

help of France and Britain and America, on which he had counted, the victory was won and the German hordes were driven back, he rode in quiet, simple triumph through his ancient liberated cities, not boasting nor breathing out revenge, but thanking God, who had been with him and his people in their just cause.

Now he comes to us crowned with glory and honor; by the judgment of the world a hero; by the consent of the people a King; by the grace of God a true man. At his side, his equal in moral stature and helpmate for him, comes the brave Queen who forgot her own frail health in ministering to her people, and grew strong as she spent herself in helping others. To this royal pair, great in character and exalted in service to the world, America gives a royal democratic welcome.

A TRIBUTE TO THE KING AND QUEEN

BY MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN

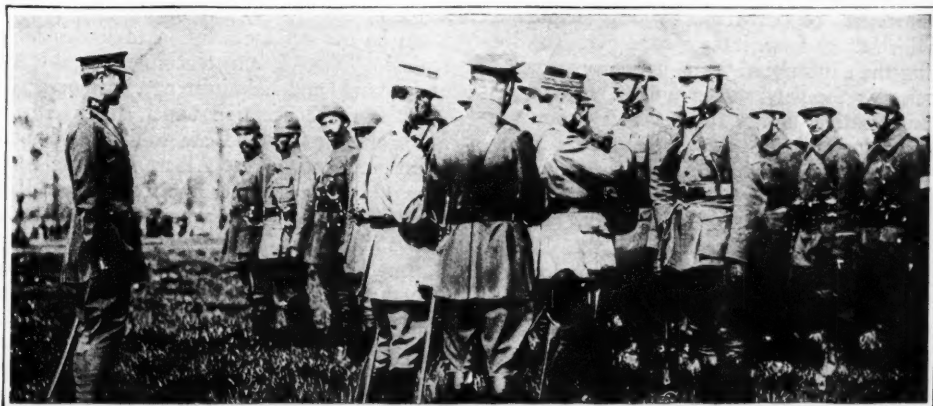
(Former American Minister to Denmark)

WHEN one realizes how sacred the person of a king is in the eyes of a people who unite love of him to their duty to him, one knows that the people of Belgium have paid their brothers across the sea the highest tribute in their power in concurring with the ardent wish that he should show in person his gratitude to our country. He lost no time, and his Queen was as eager as he.

At the same time we cannot forget our debt to this King of the Belgians, who stands for those traditions which Caesar noted long

ago. A lesser man might have been tempted, for there was a tempter who offered him the Kingdoms of the World. He resisted and he saved our country as well as England and France. Had he faltered, Freedom might have shrieked in vain. It was the flash of his sword that aroused Europe.

Our support was not only that of a reparation for our hesitation, when at last aroused from false dreams of peace. To the King and Queen of the Belgians, symbols of the bravest of lands, we owe our resurrection.



KING ALBERT AN INTERESTED SPECTATOR WHILE MARSHAL FOCH DECORATES A BELGIAN SOLDIER FOR BRAVERY

KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM

BY MARK SULLIVAN

THESE ceremonial calls with which the Allies are celebrating the ties that grew up among them through the fraternity of war, are an agreeable expression of a sentiment which lies in the most wholesome depths of human nature. Among all their best and most exalted that the nations have been sending to visit us, there is none better adapted to give America a sense of comradeship and kinship than King Albert of Belgium.

It is not a mere figure of speech, but the accurate statement of a probability that if fate had not called him to a throne he would to-day be a vice-president of the Great Northern Railroad, straightening out curves and reducing grades in North Dakota; leading a professional career not very much in the limelight, not much interested in the financial end of it, but preoccupied with the engineering side of the work; and finding his most valued compensation in the pleasure of devising new ways to do the job better and better; living in a modest suburb of Minneapolis, urging his children to study hard and take plenty of exercise—he would be typical of the best that America has. His early education was in the line of civil engineering, and some twenty years ago he worked at it under the late James J. Hill.

In appearance he reminds one of General Leonard Wood—the upright and soldierly bearing that reflects stern living and physical discipline, coupled with a firmness and sharpness of countenance and expression which come from intense concentration, during the educational years, upon some form of science; the power of command, and the administrative ability that comes from self-discipline and accurate thinking.

The decision which King Albert made on that fateful summer day was one of the great decisions of history. "A country," he said to the emergency session of the Belgian Parliament on August 4, 1914—"a country which defends itself commands the respect of all; such a country will never perish; I have faith in our destiny; God will be with us in this just cause." A decision like that, a decision which in the course of time turns the

course of history to a full right angle, is not made by a man whose mental processes have grown weak with soft living. It is good that the man who had to make it, who had to stand up to the crisis which came with the suddenness of a cannon-shot, was one who kept himself in hard mental training and whose emotions were keyed to be in the best in human nature. That decision will make the name of Belgium live like Thermopylae. Belgium did not have much of a national personality nor much history. That decision gives her both. She was a buffer state, made up out of tag ends of land and peoples. Her beginning was as late as 1830, and Albert is only the third of her kings. But that decision to stand and fight gives her tradition and solidarity. Albert is probably as secure on his throne as any king on earth. He is what a modern king ought to be. He has the character and personality that fills the eye, and satisfies the human impulse for a figure to look up to. At the same time he has the intellectual qualities, the kind of training and the kind of interests which are called for in the job of administering a modern nation.

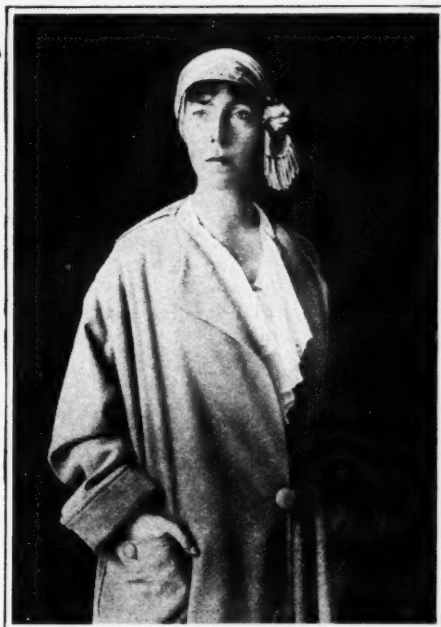
Once, when Colonel Roosevelt was in Europe he called upon a certain king (not Albert). The king, as he rose to receive Mr. Roosevelt, laid down a book, open, with the title on the back turned upward. Seeking an opening for the conversation, Colonel Roosevelt noticed that the book was Bryce's "American Commonwealth"; and when he made some allusion to it this king replied, "Yes, I am teaching my son to understand and administer a democracy." That is the conception which King Albert has of his position. I am told by one who I am sure knows that Albert has long been a regular subscriber to the AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS, and when it fails to come, misses it, and has it looked up.

America can take off its hat to King Albert; it can admire him without the faintest reservation that closer knowledge might show a touch of clay; it can look up to him. While we shall see in him the physical figure that a king ought to have, we may not



Photographs by Lindsay Gordon

KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM



QUEEN ELIZABETH OF BELGIUM

find in him the manners that a false and theatrical idea of royalty has led us to expect. The one thing that Albert could not possibly do is to be theatrical. He has lived through one of the most dramatic rôles in all history, but there was never a moment when he was theatrical. He was at all times merely the chief engineer who happened to be responsible for the job at the moment the dam broke. Leading his army, his only preoccupation was technical excellence; on his throne he was dignified and simple; in his communications with other countries he was intent merely on clearness of expression.

But if we fail to find the manners of a stage king, most surely we shall see the manners of a very great man. He is simple and lacking in self-consciousness, except such self-consciousness as inclines him to modesty, almost to bashfulness. When he and the queen visit London, they stop at a hotel as plain citizens, go shopping, see a play or two, and slip home without the formal society of London knowing of their presence. When he ascended the throne, nearly ten years ago, there was a common saying in Brussels that he "went up with his wife and children."

Without taking himself seriously, nor his royalty seriously, he takes the job of ad-

ministering Belgium with the utmost seriousness. He has that sense of responsibility that arises out of intellectual strength, the kind of moral integrity that a good engineer acquires. When he said that "the foundations of a nation's prosperity are the intellectual and moral forces of its people," he was not uttering a platitude nor repeating something he had read in a book; he was expressing, with that direct clearness of expression which his hard thinking gives him, something that he had thought out for himself. Always keeping that spiritual cornerstone of national policy, he has devoted himself with the force of a strong man and the skill of an engineer to the physical equipment of his nation. As he studied railroading under James J. Hill, so did he study shipping in England, and he makes speeches in the Belgian Senate which might perfectly well be the annual reports of the managing director of a great shipping corporation. He has the best personal equipment for managing a nation's business of any living monarch; and Belgium with the great endowment of prestige, national solidarity, and respect that the war has given her, under the administration of this still comparatively youthful king, will cut a figure among the nations far beyond her size and population.



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CARDINAL MERCIER WITH ARCHBISHOP HAYES AND MINISTER BRAND WHITLOCK VIEWING THE PERSHING PARADE IN NEW YORK CITY ON SEPTEMBER 10

CARDINAL MERCIER

BY LYMAN P. POWELL

THE day at Havre two years ago was worth the trip to Europe. Even the weather was perfection. The sun-kissed sea shimmered and danced as playfully as though the submarine were not then sinking tonnage with such accelerating rapidity that to all but the most optimistic it seemed as if the war was soon to end, not as at last it actually ended.

The house where Mr. Whitlock was in temporary residence after the removal of the Belgian seat of government down to Havre was all but hidden in a mass of green, untouched as yet by autumn. The greeting I received was American in its mingled heartiness and dignity. No one could call on Brand Whitlock in those days and doubt that he was born to diplomatic ways. He had beaten the enemy at their own game, and yet he had played the game according to the neutral rules prescribed by his home government.

Now that America was in the war and he was under no such bonds as earlier he would talk more freely to a fellow-citizen. And yet he never ceased to be the diplomat. No indiscretions found their way between his lips. We talked the whole day through. The official report he was to send to Wash-

ington was on the table by his side. From his reticences rather than disclosures I drew the inference that he was reluctant to let go some of the secrets his report may have contained, and that he was rather glad to sound out a visiting American as to the possible reception any words of his might have if given ultimately to the public. Withal he was so courteous and so considerate of the eagerness of his guest to learn all he had a right to know, that I realized in the months that followed why that Belgian gentlewoman had said: "We have three great men in our land—the King, the Cardinal, and the Minister."

Though he was sparing of his words about the enemy, the pulse of conversation beat more quickly and with such rhythmic precision and literary delicacy when inquiry shifted to the King and Cardinal, that I have had no feeling of surprise that literary critics give his "Belgium" first place in descriptive literature produced by any war. Mr. Sullivan is writing of the King, whose personal and gracious recognition of my efforts with tongue and pen to keep the unique place of Belgium before Americans will ever be a blessed memory.

My business is to have some share while

Cardinal Mercier is with us in making that Christian statesman and saintly ecclesiastic somewhat more understandable. But this is hardly necessary; for Cardinal Mercier is first of all a big human. During the last five years, all of his reactions have been as sane and normal as they have been wise and courageous. A great wrong had been done to the country of his love and care, and he was not the man to hold his peace. He was the more indignant because the waves of ruin and desolation swept over the University where he had sometime been Professor, the Cathedral committed to his charge, the men, women and children whom he had been commissioned to shepherd, while he was down at Rome on the grave business of voting for a Pope.

Straight from the shoulder he spoke in denunciation of wrongdoing, but he never left his people weltering in the wearisome details of the nameless sufferings they had been called to endure. He bade them even then enter upon new visions both of love and duty. One paragraph of those first days will evermore go ringing down the halls of patriotic recollection:

Across the smoke of conflagration, across the stream of blood, have you not glimpses, do you not perceive, signs of His love for us? Is there a patriot among us who, does not know that Belgium has grown great? Now, which of us would have the heart to cancel this last page of our national history? Which of us does not exult in the brightness of the glory of this shattered nation? When in her throes she brings forth heroes, our mother country gives her own energy to the blood of these sons of hers.

Yet in the summer of 1917 the Cardinal was still allowing his somewhat smashed-in roof to go unattended as though he needed to

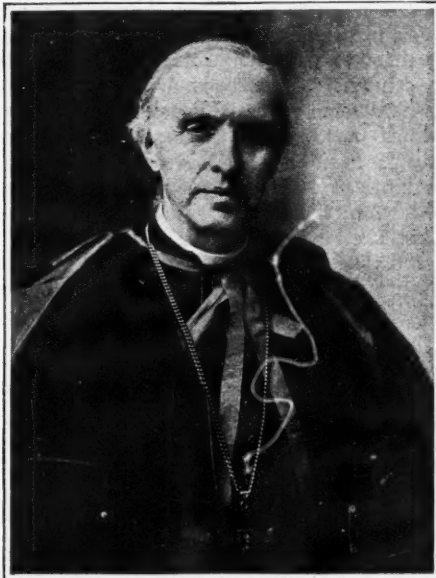
keep mindful of the ruin and woe his people were even yet suffering.

Forever photographed on memory will be the picture Mr. and Mrs. Whitlock drew for me that day of the great Cardinal, and which Mr. Whitlock has filled out in his book. I seem to see the Cardinal, tall and spare as Lincoln, moving back and forth across his study, kicking with impatience the skirt of his soutane and bending forward with almost an avenging swoop. But the strong, lined face was lighted up with kindly

eyes that beamed in benediction as readily as they flashed in anger at the mention of ill deeds. Especially do I recall the reference to his kindliness and friendliness and his *penchant* for the pastoral relationship. One could imagine him as deeply interested had his lot been passed in a Pennsylvania mining town where he spent his days going in and out of obscure homes, watching by sick beds, making men a little better, women a little happier, children a little merrier because they had him for their pastor.

I remember after getting back to this country spending a day in Lincoln's home and haunts in Springfield, Illinois. Again and again there came back to me the vision I had had of the great Cardinal, a man as original and primeval, as democratic and help-giving, as our own Lincoln was. The Cardinal and the martyred President, as I realized that day in Springfield, had the same power to call men away from the petty things of life, to lift them up in sacrifice and love to those high lands "where God's sunlit summits lie."

That day with Mr. Whitlock I learned the Cardinal had not been looking well of late. I soon suspected what the reason was. With the entrance a few months before of America into the war some of the personal contributions sent from our shores to the Cardinal for the relief of special need had evidently fallen off. The impression doubt-



A CHARACTERISTIC PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL MERCIER

less was that the Government of the United States would care for everything. There are, however, as every pastor knows, certain cases of peculiar significance which never can be helped officially. The extent of the Cardinal's benefactions made possible by American generosity before our entrance into the War was not disclosed and could not be. The mere hint of any embarrassment to the Cardinal or curtailment of his usefulness was enough to send me to Mr. Whitlock's desk where without prompting—I do not recall that Mr. Whitlock knew what I was writing—I wrote notes to several friends at home who edit magazines and weekly papers, requesting them to pass the word on through their columns without quoting me or anyone. I have some reason to believe that the appeal was not without result.

No one knows how Cardinal Mercier would classify himself. But we may all be sure that like the Master whom he follows he would have us understand that his motto is, "Not to be ministered unto but to minister." In the hour of Belgium's supreme trial the spirit of service found expression in patriotic terms, and I like to recall that when someone suggested that it would have been adequate if Belgium at the beginning had made a mere pretense of resistance to invasion the Cardinal indignantly replied:

The laws of conscience are sovereign laws. We should have acted unworthily had we evaded our obligation by a mere feint of resistance. And now we would not rescind our first resolution; we exult in it. Being

called upon to write a most solemn page in the history of our country, we resolved that it should be also a sincere, also a glorious page. And as long as we are required to give proof of endurance, so long we shall endure.

After my return from Europe I entered on a campaign of patriotic writing and speaking for many public causes. I have just completed my seven-hundredth address traveling round and round the country, and usually giving Belgium special place. About her heroism and endurance all agree. Whether I have been talking up in Minnesota, where the Heir Apparent once was known, or staying overnight in some good Protestant parsonage where the Cardinal's name is as truly one to conjure with as in his own ecclesiastical fold, I have always found the same respect, admiration and affection for the two great men of Belgium. Like the King, the Cardinal has a memory. One good American who saw both a few weeks since explained how I was speaking every day during the summer for the Midland Chautauqua and always pleading for perpetual affection for Belgium. It was therefore not a great surprise to me when recently along with personal souvenirs indicating gracious consideration from both there came from the Cardinal the following message:

"I beg M. Lyman P. Powell to tell his countrymen how deeply thankful I am to them for the great help they gave for the relief of Belgium and for the wonderful services rendered by their army to civilization."

CARDINAL MERCIER ON PATRIOTISM

(From the Pastoral Letter of 1915)

LET us acknowledge that we needed a lesson in patriotism. There were Belgians, and many such, who wasted their time and their talents in futile quarrels of class with class, of race with race, of passion with personal passion.

Yet when, on August 2, a mighty foreign power, confident in its own strength and defiant of the faith of treaties, dared to threaten us in our independence, then did all Belgians, without difference of party, or of condition, or of origin, rise up as one man, close ranged about their own King and their own Government, and cry to the invader: "Thou shalt not go through!"

At once, instantly, we were conscious of our own patriotism. For down within us all is something deeper than personal interests, than personal kinships, than party feeling, and this is the need and the will to devote ourselves to that

more general interest which Rome termed the public thing, *Res publica*. And this profound will within us is patriotism.

Our country is not a mere concourse of persons or of families inhabiting the same soil, having among themselves relations more or less intimate, of business, of neighborhood, of a community of memories happy or unhappy.

Not so; it is an association of living souls subject to a social organization, to be defended and safeguarded at all costs, even the cost of blood, under the leadership of those presiding over its fortunes. And it is because of this general spirit that the people of a country live a common life in the present, through the past, through the aspirations, the hopes, the confidence in a life to come, which they share together.

THE EUROPEAN REACTION

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE RUMANIAN STICKS

FROM November, 1914, to March, 1917, the present Prime Minister of France was accustomed to say each day in his newspaper, "The Germans are at Noyon." In something the same fashion it is now appropriate to note that the Rumanians are in Budapest. A month of futile note writing and of even more ineffective ultimatums has so far failed to dislodge the Rumanian armies of occupation or to elicit from the Rumanian Government any other comment than the absurd assertion that none of the notes or of the ultimatums have reached the Bucharest government. Meanwhile the Rumanian delegates at Paris have declined to sign the Austrian peace treaty.

Actually, then, Rumania has not only continued to defy the Paris Conference but it has set out on a course deliberately calculated to bring down in a heap the whole edifice of the League of Nations and to refute all the arguments on which the League of Nations has been based. As I pointed out last month, the Rumanian opposition is by no means an incident. On the contrary it is a decisive test of world conditions and world sentiments.

Now, in the present article I desire to discuss in some detail the European, as contrasted with the American point of view in this Rumanian incident. In the United States there seems to be a pretty widespread notion that one impudent and insignificant state has become confused as a result of too recent prosperity in annexation and has, off its own bat, undertaken to talk and to act like a great nation. There is, therefore, a considerable clamor in the United States that disciplinary steps be taken at once to reduce this little state to its proper attitude, and this clamor comes from precisely those who regard the League of Nations as an established fact and see with impatience the first challenge.

The truth is, of course, that Rumania is neither a little state nor is she acting off her own bat. As a consequence of the changes in her frontiers, incident to Austro-Hungarian defeat and Russian collapse, Rumania

has become a nation with an area as great as Italy, with a population to-day of 16,000,000, living on a territory capable of sustaining a much larger population than Italy, and her population is increasing with great rapidity. In less than half a century, therefore, Rumania will, in all human probability, be a great power. Moreover she must be reckoned with henceforth as a very potent factor in all combinations that may be made.

She has an excellent army, organized by the French General Staff, battle-trained, an army which despite opening disasters due to Russian treachery and later surrender due to Russian collapse, displayed admirable courage and skill and remains one of the considerable military forces in Europe, actually taking rank after the armies of the five great powers.

In addition, by her position Rumania controls the Lower Danube, and as recent events have shown, Hungary is completely at her mercy. Thus she supplies the only possible avenue of approach to South Russia in case the Allies ever decide to join hands with the Ukrainians against the Bolsheviks.

What I am trying to make clear is that Rumania is herself henceforth a nation whose military and economic resources, whose army, whose grain, whose oil, whose minerals, give her a position quite unlike that which she occupied when she was only the largest of the minor Balkan States. Actually she is greater to-day and infinitely more powerful than were all the Balkan States together at the outbreak of war.

II. PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In addition to her own strength Rumania at the present time is aided by the fact that the Italian Government and people and a large portion of the French people aside from the government itself look with approval upon the policy pursued by the Rumanians in recent days. The Italian attitude is simple. The Rumanian case is on all fours with the Fiume and Adriatic questions. So far as the Adriatic question is concerned, Italy was promised by France, Great Britain and Russia that if she came into the war

she should have certain territory both along the Adriatic and in Asia Minor. Italy performed her part of the bargain, but when she came to demand her pay President Wilson interposed his veto. Exactly in the same fashion the same great powers, with Italy added, promised Rumania all of the Banat if she would enlist. She did enlist and now, under President Wilson's impulsion, the great powers are insisting that Serbia have a part of the Banat.

If Rumania by her invasion and occupation of Hungary can successfully defy the Conference of Paris she will establish a precedent. By this precedent Italy will benefit. Italian troops to-day occupy the Adriatic Littoral. Possession the Italians have. A League of Nations which cannot evict Rumania from Budapest can hardly hope to persuade the Italians to leave Fiume. In other words the Rumanians are bringing discredit upon the whole League of Nations and idea of moral suasion, and the Italians are eager to see exactly this happen, since Mr. Wilson, the great proponent of the League of Nations, has denied to the Italians the possession of lands not only coveted by them but promised to them by their allies.

III. THE FRENCH POINT OF VIEW

The French view of the Rumanian episode differs from the Italian, first, because it is unofficial since the Clemenceau Government still stands by the Paris Conference policy. It is different also because the French have no territorial aspirations which can be compared with Rumanian or Italian ambitions. But French sympathy with Rumania is based upon two things—a traditional and historic friendliness between the two Latin nations, and a profound desire to preserve this friendliness, this alliance of recent months, in any future European crisis.

The French as a nation have never had the slightest confidence in the League of Nations. They have never believed in its principles. They have never regarded its future with anything but distrust or derision. They are satisfied that if the Hague Conference could not bind the German tribes, the Covenant of the League of Nations will have no greater influence upon the same tribes when they are out for plunder again. Their conception of a League of Nations was a body which had effective and coordi-

nated military power—which was in fact a perpetuation of the alliance which defeated Germany—continuing to retain military weapons, ready under central command for immediate action if Germany should disregard the terms of peace.

It was for this kind of a League of Nations that France contended in the Conference. When she failed to achieve it she asked instead that alliance with America and England which was a treaty of insurance against a new German attack and constituted in fact the League of Nations and the only League of Nations in which she could believe. This course was the compromise of the Clemenceau Government which deliberately adopted the policy of giving Mr. Wilson what he wanted in so far as his desires did not do violence to French interests and protecting those French interests by special arrangement when there was a collision. The Clemenceau Government, under the impulsion of André Tardieu, the High Commissioner who represented France during the war in America, like the British Government, recognizing the importance of American association and assistance at the present time, set out to please Mr. Wilson and the American Government as represented, in Paris, to accept a League of Nations plan in the deliberate belief that this would alone contribute to perpetuate Franco-American friendship.

But this course was by no means accepted by all of France, and with ever-increasing clarity able and eminent Frenchmen have been crying out against a policy which has involved French adoption of American methods in Europe. Frenchmen find themselves aghast at the fact that the intimate association between Great Britain, France and the United States has made France a party to an acute quarrel with Italy, whose neutrality alone saved France in 1914 and whose friendship and alliance can only safeguard France in the future.

These Frenchmen do not believe the security of France should be risked, the permanent hostility of Italy invited, merely to draw a Dalmatian frontier in accordance with an ethnographic map. They do not believe that France should risk an attack upon two fronts next time solely to carry out the Fourteen Points of Mr. Wilson.

Totally disapproving of the policy of their government in the matter of Fiume, these Frenchmen are even more angered when they see their country brought into

conflict with Rumania by a similar adhesion to Mr. Wilson's principles and American leadership, while even the Clemenceau Government finds itself unable to follow Mr. Wilson when America undertakes to champion the Bulgarian against the Greek in Thrace.

IV. A EUROPEAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Now exactly the same unrest discoverable in France, and patent in Italy, can be detected in Great Britain. There are in the United Kingdom more adherents to the League of Nations than on the whole Continent of Europe. But there are not many, and more and more influential Englishmen are crying out against an American leadership which is involving Great Britain in quarrels with Italy, Rumania, Greece, which holds out the prospect of alienating still other European countries. These men believe quite as honestly that the League of Nations is an illusion as President Wilson and his followers believe it is the cure for the world's oldest diseases, hitherto incurable. They believe that Great Britain will have to fight for her life again, just as Frenchmen believe that France will have to defend herself again, and as Italians are satisfied that their future hope lies in the strength of their frontiers rather than in the Paris Covenant. These Frenchmen, Englishmen and Italians are unable to lay aside the lessons of experience taught by hundreds of years of their history, and abandon those old-fashioned safeguards which were found in alliance to maintain the balance of power in Europe.

Now if the world settlement is to be made on the basis of the balance of power it is quite clear that it is important for the English, and vital for the French, to preserve friendships and cement alliances. Above all it is a matter of life and death for France and of very grave importance for Britain not to make new enemies who will appear in the ranks of their old foes if war comes again.

This is the thing that underlies the Rumanian incident. Rumania has defied the League of Nations idea and the Conference of Paris, which for the moment expresses that idea. She has done it with the approval of Italy, which has repudiated the League of Nations principles so far as it affects Italian interests. She has done it with the sympathy of a large section of the French, who

have become impatient of an American leadership which they believe is headed straight for ruin so far as France is concerned. They have done it with more than a tacit complaisance on the part of a very considerable section of the British people. The explanation of this is that Europe is becoming impatient, restive, unmistakably bad-tempered over the continued exercise of American influence upon European policy, an influence which in the minds of these Europeans is fraught with grave disaster for Europe as a whole and above all for the nations which follow the United States policy.

Before I left Paris in May this restiveness was apparent, although it was much restricted by censorship and little perceived by American representatives confident that the European people, as contrasted with their governments, were totally converted to American policies. The fact seemed then to be quite otherwise. From Paris it appeared that certain governments found themselves compelled to accept American leadership because of material considerations, but that no European government or people accepted American principles or endured without chafing that American leadership which more or less persisted in Paris up to the signature of the Treaty.

V. THE BALANCE OF POWER

I wish it were possible to explain to my American readers that European point of view which has been so totally obscured by all the comment which has reached America since the Peace Conference began. The European point of view is the result of many centuries of suffering, experience and struggle. Nation after nation has achieved unity, and having achieved this unity, has endeavored to dominate the Continent. The protection of the liberty of the individual state has been assured in this time by an association of states against the single menacing power. The sole ultimate resort has been armies. Over and over again Europe has endeavored to find some authority which would prevent war and restrain the imperialistic aspirations of that power which was momentarily strongest. All these combinations and alliances have failed because nations and peoples which felt themselves strong enough to dominate the Continent were ready to risk the perils incident to making the try.

None of the great wars of the nineteenth century in Europe could have been prevented by a League of Nations. They were in the main caused, after the Napoleonic time, by the efforts of Russia and Germany to expand and of Italy and the smaller Balkan States to achieve liberation. It would not have been possible for any League of Nations to have stopped Russia, except by fighting wars like the Crimean War. Germany's three wars of aggression, against Denmark, Austria and France, were wars which had the support of all the German people, despite the wholly unjustifiable character of German policy. The Concert of Europe which was the pale predecessor of the League of Nations was unable, despite the fact that it included all of the Great Powers, to prevent the little Balkan States from keeping Europe in a ferment and ultimately setting the whole world on fire. Moreover, the Concert of Europe itself collapsed long before August 1, 1914, in the presence of that new spirit in Germany which was based upon the conviction that the Germans, could repeat the achievement of the Romans, at least in Europe.

Looking back over all their history, recent and remote, the Europeans find justification for the policies followed by their statesmen of the past and for the political instincts inherited from their fathers and grandfathers. There is no informed European who believes that Germany will accept the terms of the Treaty of Paris except under duress. There is no European who does not believe that Germany will seek to regain her position in the world and will be assured in such a venture of the support of the Hungarians and the Austro-Germans as well as the Bulgarians, all of whom have suffered equally at Paris. But this is an alliance of 80,000,000 of people at the outset, and how shall this alliance be checked or held if the Italians, the Rumanians, the Greeks, are driven to make common cause with the Germans, the Austrians, the Hungarians and the Bulgarians as a consequence of the subordination of European to American policies? If America is permitted in Paris to decide purely European questions, thus creating new enemies for her present Allies, the logical consequence seems to many European minds now, the creation of a new German menace far greater than the old because it contains many of the States which fought Germany last time.

As a result there is a very marked reaction against America going on in Europe at the present time. There are many signs which disclose the fact. There are many voices raised in protest. There is a growing tendency to believe that, great as American resources are and essential as American assistance is to the rehabilitation of France, of Britain, of Italy, too great a price can still be paid for that assistance. To let American leadership embroil the French and the Italians, the French and the Rumanians, the French and the Greeks, while it does not and cannot reconcile the French and the Germans is, from the French point of view, to make a woful mistake. Therefore the collapse of American leadership, the overthrow of the League of Nations idea, the discrediting of the whole experiment through some such episode as the Rumanian, is welcomed in Paris in many quarters.

Exactly this European emotion is identified and denounced by many Americans as a survival of selfishness and of imperialism. This is only partially true at least. The fact is that generations of Frenchmen have been taught by bitter experience that the Germans are a predatory people, whose immemorial habit has been to invade the regions west of the Rhine to devastate and plunder them. They have experienced two terrible invasions in the last fifty years. They see Germany, although beaten, frankly asserting that she accepts the Treaty of Versailles only under compulsion and they see in the future, with the revival of German strength, a return of the German danger.

American policy asked them to accept the League of Nations as the sole guarantee against the future with all the lessons of the immediate past before them to indicate that to the Germans treaties are scraps of paper. They have therefore insisted upon that Anglo-French-American alliance which is to take the place of the Rhine barrier. But not all Frenchmen, possibly not a majority of Frenchmen, believe the substitute is satisfactory and as the opposition to the treaty of alliance grows in America the faith of France in the substitute rapidly diminishes.

The Clemenceau Government was completely at the mercy of America during the Conference of Paris because France was helpless without American assistance and British support, and the British Government, for political quite as much as for sentimental reasons, adopted a course which aligned Great Britain behind America in

most of the test questions. France had therefore to accept Mr. Wilson's decisions where these were supported by Lloyd-George, or else find herself isolated, bankrupt, ruined. She did accept them, but not without protest, not without misgivings, not without a certain measure of resentment.

But in accepting American leadership under compulsion, the French did not perceive, as nobody could, that the consequences would be the alienation of Italy and Rumania, the weakening of Poland, a vital concern for France, and the possible repudiation by the United States of Mr. Wilson's whole leadership and the far more likely repudiation of his proposed Triple Alliance to insure France.

Thus the developments of recent weeks and months in Europe and America alike have contributed greatly to strengthen that opposition which was at all times hostile to the subservience of French policy to American dictation, even in the face of French necessity, and there was a profound resentment in France over the fact that this subservience had been made almost inescapable because the British had aligned themselves solidly with the Americans.

The literal truth is that the French did not take the League of Nations from Mr. Wilson directly, on the contrary they only took it when they discovered that British policy at Paris would consist in the adoption of Mr. Wilson's ideas except in the matter of the freedom of the seas, and that they would be isolated if they did not follow suit. France was conquered rather than convinced and French opposition was never wholly silenced and never in the least placated.

VI. ALTERNATIVE COURSES

From the outset there have been offered to the French various alternative courses. The Italians have steadily argued that it was much more important for France to have the assured support of Italy, purchasable by supporting Italian claims on the Adriatic, than an American aid which the Italians argued would prove illusory. Clemenceau having to choose between American and Italian chose America, but when President Wilson issued his Fiume statement the French emotion was unmistakable. There was a feeling that Mr. Wilson had sacrificed France to an abstract ideal and that one of the consequences of the ultimatum which was concealed in the appeal to the

Italian people might be an attack upon France by Italy if Germany ever assailed the French as they had in 1914.

Meantime in Great Britain there was a profound reaction stirred by the fashion in which the British representatives in Paris, in following Mr. Wilson, were alienating France and there was a positive crisis soon after President Wilson's return from America culminating in action by the British Parliament which led Lloyd George to reverse his course and support the French—notably in the Sarre affair.

What the British, who were responsible for this reaction saw was that Mr. Wilson's leadership was separating France from Great Britain and giving the French no other choice than a return to Germany in any repetition of Anglo-French rivalries. Moreover they perceived that, impossible as the change appeared, French possession of Alsace-Lorraine removed the one obstacle which had hitherto prevented such an alliance. This reaction in Great Britain escaped comment in America so far as I was able to observe, but it constituted one of the real crises in Paris and marked the first step in a rebellion in Europe against American leadership.

Now we have had since January protests in Great Britain called forth by American policy which brought France and Great Britain to the breaking point, something more than protest in France against American leadership which brought France and Italy from the condition of allies to the situation at which French soldiers were murdered by Italian in Fiume, and last of all, a more general unrest growing out of the Rumanian episode, all of which has served to encourage the Rumanians.

It is one thing to send word to the Rumanians that they must get out of Budapest. It is another thing to coerce a nation with 300,000 troops under arms, particularly when this army has seized all the military resources of Hungary. Now to enforce the various ultimatums the troops available are mainly French and I do not believe the French nation would permit the Clemenceau Government to use French troops to fight Rumanians. Moreover, it seems perfectly clear that the Italians would support the Rumanians in any clash, and France would find herself at war with Rumania and Italy, a war provoked, from the French point of view, by a slavish adherence to American policy.

But if the French troops won't fight the Rumanians, then where are the troops coming from to do it? Certainly not from Great Britain. Most assuredly not from the United States. Therefore Rumania has stayed in Budapest, will stay until she completes her seizure of precisely the materials the Hungarians stole when they were in Rumania, will retire when she gets ready to frontiers of her own fixing, and can safely defy all coercion which consists in moral suasion alone.

But if Rumania can do this, why not Poland? Why not Greece? Thus in the last month we have seen Venizelos, after momentarily listening to American arguments indicating reasons why Bulgaria should have part of Thrace inhabited by Greeks, refuse such a solution and do this with the approval of the British and the French. We have seen the whole Greek people demanding passionately the reason why America should champion the hereditary enemy of the Greeks, the nation which has three times in recent years attacked its neighbors for imperialistic purposes.

And whatever question there was as to Rumania, there can be no question as to Greece. In the latter case not only were the British and French openly sympathetic with the Greeks but their governments felt the pressure from publics growing restive, at the multiplying of incidents separating recent allies and growing out of American policy.

More than this, Rumania having a quarrel with the Serbs over the Banat, began to mobilize divisions with the avowed purpose of driving out the Serbs beyond the Theiss and the Danube, that is out of territory assigned to them by the League of Nations. Such a course would be assured of Italian support and coöperation, since the Italians are just as eager to restrict Jugo-Slav frontiers on the west as are the Rumanians on the east and just as unwilling to accept President Wilson's policies as to Fiume as the Rumanians are as to the Torontál.

That the Rumanians would do this, was told me perfectly frankly in Paris before I came home. But when Rumania undertakes to do this with the support of at least one great power, while the Serbs have the support of others, we are back once more at the old Balkan situation which preceded the World War and provoked it. The Balkan States are once more made the catspaws of

still larger Powers and all the old unhappy circumstances are revived.

VII. WHAT IT MEANS

I have dwelt at length upon the reaction now going on in Europe because it seems to me that it is essential that some portion of it should be understood in America. There has been a widespread impression here that American ideas enlisted a great following on the Continent. My six months in Paris indicated just the opposite. So far as the Continent was concerned there was submission to America in political leadership simply because there was an obvious necessity to obtain the material assistance of the one great nation whose resources had been untouched by the war. Starvation and worse were the alternatives, but to believe there was willing submission is, in my judgment, to misunderstand the facts.

Europe is in some small degree at least beginning to get on its feet. As the immediate menaces of Bolshevism and of Germanism diminish there is an unmistakable resurgence of European ideas. This resurgence is hastened by two factors, by the number of controversies between allies provoked by American policy and by the gradual appreciation in Europe of the fact that America itself is divided over the League of Nations and over the President's leadership.

This European reaction tends more and more to revive old ideas based on the principle of the balance of power and of alliance as contrasted with the American idea of a League of Nations. The French people, like the British people, perceive that the Germans have been conquered but not reconciled, remain hostile, and may in the future seek to regain their lost provinces and reconquer their old position in the world. They see that, as a consequence of American policy, these Germans with their former allies who have been equally punished, may find new allies in Italy, Rumania and even in Greece, since all three of these States have had their dearest aspirations vetoed by the Conference of Paris in which Mr. Wilson presided in fact, and America dictated policies with the consent of the Allies.

Now if the United States Senate should repudiate the Anglo-French-American treaty of insurance, in my judgment the Clemenceau policy and course would be repudiated by France. The French would abandon all thought of a League of Nations and seek

safety in an alliance with Italy and with Rumania. Italian support would be assured the French on the Rhine and French support of Italy on the Adriatic. The Rumanian barrier to German expansion on the southward would be established by a Latin alliance and the support of all these Latin nations would go to Poland and the Poles would be able not only to extend their eastern frontiers but to revise in their own favor the settlement of Danzig and of East Prussia.

In this situation the British would have to choose between America and the Continent and while I do not think any accurate forecast of that decision possible, at least it is certain that a very strong fraction of the British public would insist upon a continuation of an alliance with France, which alone can safeguard the English Channel and ensure that the resistance to Germany would begin at the Rhine and not at the Straits of Dover.

But by contrast I do not believe that the adoption by the United States Senate of the Treaty of Versailles and of the Triple Alliance will long or materially delay the European reaction. It seems perfectly clear to me that the United States is not prepared, that the American people are not prepared, to send armies to police Europe, Asia or Africa, to coerce the Rumanians, the Greeks or the Italians, and the events of recent months all indicate that nations are no more ready now than they were before to lay aside racial ambitions and national aspirations in the presence of moral suasion alone.

Further, and this is the point I am trying to make: There is a widespread and significant reaction going on in all European countries recently associated with us in the war against American leadership and the application of American principles in such fashion as to break up the solidarity of that alliance which was hardly strong enough to hold Germany.

The period of our great contribution to Europe in the way of money, food, and material is over. European dependence upon us will grow less and less as time passes. As that dependence diminishes there will be less and less temptation to follow American leadership and a greater and greater demand on the part of the various publics that European policy shall return to European principles. This, in my judgment, is what has made the Rumanian episode so significant and is what is mainly important at the present moment in Europe.

We all see going on in Washington and in the country generally an agitation based on the assertion that the League of Nations Covenant does not sufficiently safeguard certain American interests and policies like the Monroe Doctrine, and does involve us in dangerous European controversies. So far as it is possible to define it this represents an instinctive American reaction against too close intermingling in the affairs of Europe, a turning back in thought at least to the old American policy of isolation.

Now, coincident with this reaction in America which is taking the form of a distinct antagonism to European methods and matters, there is in progress a similar reaction in Europe against American ideas and policy. We are asserting at least through one party in the United States Senate that Europe must respect the Monroe Doctrine to keep out of American affairs generally. Far less openly, but no less clearly, Europe is beginning to assert a similar desire that America should refrain from shaping policies in matters purely European and shaping them in such fashion as to prompt European discord and endanger the safety of certain European nations. Both reactions are natural, and in my judgment whatever be the result of the American controversy we shall see many interesting and important developments in the European field in the next few months.



WHY NOT *HELP* MEXICO?

BY EDWARD MARSHALL

I THINK everyone who has considered the matter at all feels certain that the United States ere long must take some action with regard to Mexico. The question in all minds so believing is: What should that action be?

The answer to that query does not seem difficult to one who even crudely knows the Mexicans and understands their situation, its causes, its existent phases and its future possibilities. It is simply this: Help Mexico to help herself.

Physically Mexico is one of the most beautiful and one of the richest countries in the world; their history shows the Mexicans to be a people capable of astonishing achievement: they had irrigation long before the Egyptians dreamed of it and a pictorial art and splendid and developed architecture before Europe slowly, laboriously and bloodily had crawled out of savage crudity.

Their purely modern failure has been political and for that many good excuses lie in the undeniable fact that since the European's first conquest of their country, which he owed to no racial superiority of mind or of morale, but only to the fact that he had borrowed gunpowder from the Chinese, the Mexicans never have had an opportunity to develop normally, to make of themselves the best of which fundamentally they have been and still are capable.

Failure of Mexican Leadership

During the Spanish régime Mexico was terribly oppressed, ruthlessly and finally completely, if slowly, shackled with superstition, held forcibly in ignorance and made a slave-land; during the French régime it suffered less but gathered nothing helpful for its future guidance, losing neither its superstition nor its slavery; war with the United States lost for it some of its most precious territory and taught it absolutely nothing because its conquerors took what had been won and left that which remained Mexican to get on without offering help or guidance. In the years during which the nation has been nominally or actually its own master, it has been cursed by one government after another

founded on the sand of selfish, never on the rock of unselfish and high-minded revolution: it has suffered a succession of revolutions, each successful one of which has been led by men seeking not their nation's good, as did the leaders, for example, of the American Revolution, but only their own aggrandizement.

No Mexican leader who has been successful has sought to help his people wholly out of bondage; most merely have wished to change the name upon their shackles. Of the principal figures in Mexico's recent history Diaz was a constructionist, but was very, very far from spiritual unselfishness; he tolerated and used peonage, which is a modified slavery; Madero was an idealist, but lacked nearly all the practical qualities; Huerta was a mere barbarian, untutored, unambitious, except for his great lust for women, gold and power; Carranza is a stubborn, unintelligent, almost wholly untaught individual. And the same or approximate qualifications might be linked with the mention of nearly every other Mexican leader. Of course men like these have not tried to build a Mexico for Mexicans; they have tried to build, each one, a Mexico to suit himself. Mexico had no great civilized people from whom to draw her theories of leadership, as the United States had for its draughts of men and thought progressive England and idealistic France. Perforce Mexico's institutions were based upon those of the Spaniard, and institutions thus founded have failed wherever they were planted in the once far-flung but now exterminated arc of Spanish possessions.

Mexico has not lacked good men; probably she has not wholly lacked great men; but the combination of the Spanish Church and those revolutionary political trends which were normally resultant from the Spanish rule have implanted in her native leadership no irresistible and truly democratic impulse and therefore have given her no proletariat sufficiently informed, sufficiently literate, sufficiently free and accurate of mind to be able competently to study national policies and participate intelligently in

or compel their right solution. Not even their most bitter critics can charge this fault against the Mexican people, who, to an extent unrealized by most Americans, are of pure aboriginal blood, suffering from the loss of an ancient culture not without its merits and for which nothing but oppression ever has been offered as a substitute. These things must remain an indictment against the grim adventurers who first by bloody conquest took possession of the country and later by the constant exercise of methods always brutal, held it till the French drove them away, later scarcely improving on their management, and soon themselves being eliminated by fever and maladministration, leaving the Mexicans to shift alone without oppression from outside but without instruction from without or from within.

Pros and Cons of Intervention

Therefore at this time it seems important that every American should inform himself concerning these and many other things affecting Mexico, carefully considering what course his nation should pursue toward this new, almost wholly helpless people, lying separated only by a narrow river from our prosperous and, in spots, our happy land.

From the days of the great Washington, through those of the tremendous Lincoln, the dynamic Roosevelt and the extraordinary Wilson, the more fortunate United States has had leadership which has affirmed that it has wished no gain through conquest. To discuss in this aspect the Mexican War would be useless at this time; after our victorious if brief and not particularly difficult war with Spain we gave the world the proof of our loftiness of principle; no American has gone on record as even wishing territorial aggrandizement as a result of our participation in the great European War now trying gaspingly to end.

There are Americans who, through sheer selfishness, perhaps augmented by aggravation over Mexican misgovernment and failure to protect honest American investors, actually desire American conquest and retention of control over Mexico, but probably these, if listed, would prove to be few in number. The interventionists, who are growing rapidly in strength, in the main wish simply that Mexico may be put out of her misery by being snatched away from it although she may cling to it, and that America may be relieved of that continual, nag-

ging worry which must be inevitable as long as anarchy, starvation, and commercial paralysis exist in the great country which links us to the Isthmus.

There are many perfectly good arguments against Mexican intervention and for it few save the very strong one that Mexico has fully proved her inability to rule herself and therefore should have honest help until she learns the lesson of self-government. For us to intervene upon that general ground would be no novel thing, for it was exactly on that basis that we took armed control of Cuba and the Philippines. Cuba we have cleaned up, organized, and instructed more than once and (more than once) returned to her growingly informed sons with the proviso that if they do ill we shall spank them again and once more send them to bed while we control their domicile until they promise to behave. The Philippines, a far more difficult problem, we are solving slowly. Our gift of independence to this people may be deferred through no fault of theirs or ours, but because of outside international conditions. When we find it safe we shall bestow it.

But the spanking of big Mexico would be a matter very different from the good-natured punishment of Cuba. Mexico's population (before her recent wars and their aftermath of famine and disease) was 15,160,000 and her area is 767,000 square miles against Cuba's population of 3,400,000 and area of 14,164 square miles and the Philippines' 8,878,000 population and 115,026 square miles. The American who believes that to attack and conquer Mexico, even in her weakness and for the purpose of planting on her soil forever the banner of democracy, would be an easy task, in any manner comparable with the slight effort, slight sacrifice and slight expenditure of the Spanish-American War, is uninformed and loose of thought.

Furthermore, no matter what she may do in her present disorganized and irresponsible state, it is inconceivable that we should attack Mexico with the idea of forcibly depriving her for all time of the rights of independent government. One of the first results of a war with that intent would be to turn all Latin America unalterably against us, politically and economically, and to make the Monroe Doctrine, which has been preserved (perhaps) by such a narrow margin at Versailles, a dead-letter through stimulated enmities upon this hemisphere.

The situation works itself out thus, then: If let alone Mexico almost certainly will go from bad to worse, for no constructive impulse within herself at present tends importantly toward the foundation of a Mexican Government competent to establish a successful democracy.

To permit Mexico to go from bad to worse would be, upon the part of the United States, a crime against humanity and against self-interest.

To endeavor to correct existing and prospective evils through the medium of armed intervention would be costly of men and money and destructive of Latin-American friendship for us and from within would disintegrate that Monroe Doctrine which most of us have wished to see unalterably preserved.

So we are brought back to our original question:

What is to be done?

A Mexican Forecast

An interesting suggestion has been made to me by a Mexican of real distinction who knows, loves, and trusts this country, who is not a member of the political class in his own land, but has been a real constructionist even throughout the long era of disorder that began with the overthrow of Diaz. In the main he thinks:

If the United States should intervene in Mexico and "pacify" the country by sheer force of arms, Mexican hatred of America would endure as long as the present generation lives. Leaders of all factions would unite to foster anti-American feeling, both on principle and as a matter of expediency, and the Mexican masses instinctively would thrill with hate of us, even if their leaders did not urge it on them. None loves more ardently nor hates more bitterly than the Mexican. No parallel can be drawn between the case of Cuba and that which in event of intervention would be Mexico's, because American occupation of Cuba began in a war waged for the purpose of freeing subject peoples from oppressive Spanish domination. Any war on Mexico would be accepted as being for the purpose of subjecting a people believing themselves free to our outside domination and would be regarded as a selfish game of loot, no matter how brief a period of forcible control we might promise nor how genuinely fine a following period of generous action.

The Mexican is not a coward. He is a

good fighter, although not trained at the task nor very clever. Of course in case of war with the United States he would be comparatively ill-equipped; but he would do his best. Thousands of Mexicans standing before firing-squads which were to end their lives have waited smiling, smoking cigarettes and cursing wonderfully those about to kill them. That is a fashion. Up to the point where it became impossible, the Mexicans would fight America, and they would not fight in accordance with those rules of warfare which the Allies endeavored to observe and the Germans endeavored to defy on all occasions during the late war. The Mexican does not know the rules of war. He does not know the rules of anything. No one has ever tried to teach them to him.

One of the means by which the Mexican would show his disapproval of armed intervention by this country would be through the start of a wild orgy of attack on all things and lives American remaining in his country at the time of the commencement of hostilities. He would not count the cost. He never does. Probably his frenzy would include among its victims British, French, and Italian subjects wherever they might be found in Mexico outside the larger cities. My Mexican friend says that there the lives and property of foreigners might be protected. He believes it; I do not. No bribery of bandits such as has kept the oil regions comparatively calm since the beginning of the war would stop the grim succession of outrages in advance of an invading force. Bandits might take the bribes, but probably would not—even a Mexican bandit has certain principles and pride: I know Villa has. The oil fields might be saved, but at great cost and through vast effort; machinery for this effort was created and held ready during the European war. It would be needed and much destruction might occur there, notwithstanding it. Outside of the measurably protected oil country ruthless slaughter and the destruction of all foreign property save that of Germans and of Japanese would instantaneously begin.

American intervention would establish law and order, as, fighting its way slowly (or perhaps rapidly, it gained territory, only if every foot of land it captured were left perfectly and forcefully policed, and not otherwise. And Mexico is not a country easy for outsiders to police, although for Mexicans to police it when they have been organized

therefor never has been difficult. No general European theatre of war was as difficult either for conquest or subsequent pacification as Mexico would be, except, perhaps, the mountain-studded area in which Italy met the Austrians. And the only law and order which American intervention could establish would be that maintained by fear. Whenever for a moment fear flared into courage, law and order would give place to the grim, desperate lawlessness of ruthless reprisal. The Mexicans would regard us with a cumulative hatred and would arouse in us deep hate of them. At present, while they do not love us, they do not definitely hate us and we do not hate them at all.

Having conquered Mexico, we would have upon our hands a nation bitter beyond words, of which we would need to make a second and laborious conquest through kindness and helpfulness, but every Mexican grave which we had filled (and of these there would be many thousands) and every American grave which Mexicans had filled (they would be less numerous but multitudinous) would be, during the existing generation's life, a blot ineradicable upon that page of friendship which we would be endeavoring to cleanse.

And almost certainly we would have upon our hands important foreign complications. The application of the League of Nations (however it finally may be organized) would be difficult of adjustment in a way satisfactory to our own country or affected European nations; the enterprising traders, of nations which we do not love and those of our good friends alike, would take advantage of the situation and bid against us with success for that remunerative trade which Mexican hatred would refuse to us—Mexico will never whine for trade, regardless of her pride, as Germany is doing. The opportunity for Germany, especially, would be unprecedented. Mexico was widely sown with anti-American pro-German propaganda during the early years of the great war. Combat between America and Mexico fully would fructify it in all Mexican minds.

Which, perhaps, is enough of comment upon intervention. The topic is too vast to cover comfortably in a single article.

But it is obvious that Mexico cannot continue as she is.

Uncle Sam as Good Samaritan

Well, then, why not try the simple plan, if it seems plain that the complex plan may not

succeed? Our fathers were a simple lot of men; we are more elaborate. They reasoned on straight lines; we, proud of our intellectual attainments and confused by devious leaderships, are beginning to adore complexities. But why not, in the case of Mexico, be simple? It would be a great relief to all of us and might save a situation now charged with potential tragedy.

The simple thing would be to help the badly led, the ignorant, the bleeding, starving neighbor, even though he be, at present, disorderly and offensive. It would cost less money; it would cost fewer lives or none; it would cost no friendship but make much; it would cost no dignity; it could not involve us in entanglements of any kind with European nations—and it would save Mexico.

How can Mexico be helped without a desperate assault? How might a man be helped who (perhaps through his own fault) was down and out, humiliated and, being very ignorant, fighting-mad in spite of wounds, poverty, hunger, and bleak prospects? If a neighbor looked at him with frowns, held over him clenched fists ready for assault at the first sign of returning vigor, the procedure would not render the prone man a signal service—unless it be a good policy to keep the fallen down and out, which is not the American philosophy. The Samaritan whose hands bore bandages for wounds and healing lotions, food for the man's hunger and drink for his thirst, whose kind mind offered encouragement to offset the prostrate creature's weakness and whose generosity found some money for his purse, would get on with him better, tend more rapidly to make a self-respecting, useful man of him, to his own benefit, his family's and the world's, and, further, far quicker would make of him a customer if he, the Samaritan, had goods for sale. Such, speaking generally, is the accepted individual practice, now, in dealing even with the criminal.

So that is the suggestion which now comes forward with regard to this immensely puzzling Mexican problem.

How could it be carried out? The United States has a Red Cross organization mobilized and ready for work, just as it has an Army mobilized and ready for fight; the United States has stores of supplies for the starving, just as it has ammunition for its guns; the United States has more cargo-ships than at any previous time in its whole history, just as it has more warships than it ever had before. The United States can

knock out Mexico—nobody doubts it; but, sure enough, why not help Mexico to rise, instead? Nobody previously has suggested it upon a large, efficient scale.

One answer will be, certainly, that Mexico does not want, indeed, that she once has refused our help. That does not prove that Mexico, itself, was so intensely stupid, so really inimical; it only proves that Mexico's executive, Carranza, unlearned in graciousness, proud, scheming, crudely crafty and generally undeveloped mentally, backed by Mexico's worst, not by her best, was everything with which he has been charged in this somewhat involved sentence. It proves nothing for the Mexican people or against them, for they know nothing of the truth of things.

The Mexicans Have Had Enough Fighting

Being hungry, the Mexican mass, like other hungry human beings, yearn for food—they must have food or perish; being sick, like other sufferers, they want medical attendance; being ignorant, they should have education, whether or not they know that it will help them; being in a state of anarchy, they need law, though they might oppose its imposition on them. Having these things, will they want to keep on fighting futilely day after day, year after year? Probably not.

How can these things be given to them? Simply. Organize them for acceptance of the gifts. They do not love the foolish leaders who keep them in poverty, peril, and turmoil, although they may obey them because they know not what else may be done. The soldier in all the Mexican armies is ill-fed, his officers oftener get and keep his pay than give it to him, his uniform is nothing much or anything that chances, his arms are frequently imperfect and each individual fighting-man guards his personal cartridge-belt with care because his brother fighting-man will steal it if he has a chance, leaving him unprotected when the enemy (that is, the follower of another chief, but a Mexican like himself) stealthily approaches from some arroyo. He is most unhappy in his constant warfare. The Mexican loves home, wife, children, gayety, and song; he is a sentimentalist; the things of ease and comfort infinitely attract him—I have seen him go to battle with a guitar strapped on his back and have heard him singing sentimental songs after fighting all day on half-rations.

If he is tired of war why doesn't he turn from it? Because he has nothing else

to turn to. If he fights on as General Someone's soldier he may get a little of the pay which lavishly is promised and will be sure of enough food to keep him half alive; if he deserts, trying to go home, he will be arrested probably, and, if not arrested, will find farming difficult, for he has no implements, will be allowed to keep no animals (the first bandit to see them will appropriate them), has no seed, is out of training after years of service in the unkempt ranks, and most powerful of deterrents, he feels among his fellows the urge of no general impulse to return to work or encouragement in that direction from those whom he accepts as leaders.

But the man who, fitting the old descriptive phrase, really "would rather fight than eat," is as rare in Mexico as elsewhere. To-day the Mexican is fighting now and then that now and then he may satisfy his hunger, and, being very tired of the uncertainty of his reward, he would be very glad to work that he might eat every day.

A Rural Police Force

If, to-morrow, the American Government should help to find and then recognize and assist a purely Mexican leader from among the many who realize all this but without backing dare not say so, great things might be done. Work would begin among the Mexicans along the border: they would be fed, armed, equipped, prepared efficiently for warfare under selected men chosen from among those Mexicans who wish to build their country, not to tear it down. No ruthless invading army would be organized, but, instead, a trained, satisfied and satisfactory all-Mexican rural police force. There would be a rush of volunteers to join the bright, new colors.

Passing from across the American border into Mexico, or organized on Mexican soil, this force, made attractive by good food, honest pay, fair treatment and the right basic idea, would grow with an astonishing speed. Later, when it began to slowly penetrate the country, using the propaganda of good cheer and the food and comforts distributed by the accompanying American Red Cross, it would make conquest of the people, including the soldiers of the opposing forces. Few would go against it. Most of its opponents would try to join its ranks. It might have some fighting to attend to, but would not have much. Its conquests would be peaceable and cumulative.

Such a Mexican force, advancing into Mexico from whatever point or points, accompanied by complete machinery for relieving the immediate needs of the civilian population in all accessible territory as quickly as might be, achieving victory principally by the power of attraction, would be neither an American intervention force nor a Mexican revolutionary force, but something new and better than either. In the main no further means of conquest would be needed than the authority which would pluck men out of warfare to their homes and peaceful work, than doctors who would heal the sick, than nurses who would care for them, than great Red Cross supply stations which would feed the women and the children and the aged men, than the agricultural implements which would be given or sold on easy terms through an agency created for the purpose of assisting those who wished again to work and the instructors who would show the people how to make their labor count.

I chanced to be in Italy during the great war when the morale of the nation, wofully broken down and threatening defeat to the Allied cause, was restored largely through the agency of the American Red Cross. If that splendid body was available at that time, four thousand miles from home, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it might be made available again, when the suffering is quite as great and the international need almost as momentous, just across our own border.

A Mexican "Army of Comfort and Constructiveness"

Contentment, hope, and confidence would be created magically, the spirit of combat would vanish from the land of Mexico. That Mexican whom I have mentioned, and who ought to know his people, tells me this, and I believe him. The wholly Mexican Army of Comfort and Constructivism, of helpfulness and good-will, where helpfulness would be acceptable and good-will has been rare for years, accompanied by the generous, neighborly Red Cross, would steadily advance. The tidings of the progress would precede this peaceable invasion at a longer range than that of the shells of the great guns which sent their vast projectiles in advance of Wilhelm's men.

Mexico would not be a conquered country when this new-fashioned war came to an end; she would be revived, psychologically transformed, made safe for the beginnings

of democracy more fully, possibly, than some European countries have been by the vastest war and most vociferous peace-wrangling in all history. She would be beginning to get ready for real constructive work on modern lines, done by her own citizens and their friends, the people of the United States—ready for the organization of a school system, for the reception of primary information with regard to health and comfort; she would be ready to establish reasonable and efficient government, ready to get down to work and to find happiness. Banditry would cease, gradually, partly through the efforts of the great police force, more notably because participation in the work of the advancing army would be better paid and pleasanter than sparse looting ever has been, and still more notably because the average man, be he Mexican or Yankee, will not steal if he can prosper honestly more easily.

It is true that this native Army of Pacification and Reconstruction might need in its ranks persons more dramatic than doctors, nurses, Red Cross supply agents, and agricultural instructors. It might need some airplanes and some machine-guns; it would not use them as the weapons of an enemy from across the border, but as the implements of native builders, intent on the construction of a new and happy Mexico. It would not need to use them much.

Probably the United States has shown good judgment in paying no attention to many would-be Mexican leaders; it showed wofully bad judgment in recognizing Carranza without reservations. But Carranza is approaching his downfall. Coincidentally with the benevolent auto-invasion of our neighbor, America would have an opportunity firmly to declare that Mexico in future must find real leadership, herself, or let others find it for her, and that we will recognize no leadership which shall not signalize its entrance into power by the advancement of a feasible plan of reconstruction, with, behind it, the force required to put the program into operation. After that Native Police-Red Cross invasion the Mexican people would support America in this reasonable demand.

With a growing power promotive of the Mexican nation's real independence, and agreeing with such an American declaration, more than one good man for leadership in Mexico would be found where the circumstances of the past have made such discoveries impossible. Probably any Mexican of

eminence and worth, moving in harmony with such a program and really believing in it, if he were approved and somewhat aided by Americans really knowing Mexico, easily could gain pre-eminence. Mexico is sick, deathly sick, of her disorder, Carranza and his politicians and the bandits to the contrary notwithstanding. All worthwhile Mexicans, the nation's immense wealth, and its not inconsiderable business wisdom and general culture would hasten to support any individual who promised and could deliver an era of law, order, and coöperation with the United States.

It is certain that the United States soon must look the Mexican problem squarely in the face and thoroughly understand that it is not war with America nor revolution of her own which will preserve her, but the enforcement of law and order within Mexico by Mexicans themselves. The intervention which would pay would be promotion and assistance of a movement to this end.

That the Mexican, once freed of war, would prove fundamentally capable of ably

taking up industrial and agricultural life is strikingly indicated by a telegram which I have just received from Henry Ford, the motor manufacturer, whom I queried on the subject because I knew that he recently had made experiments with Mexican boys brought north in the course of an ingenious test. This message says:

We have in training approximately 150 Mexican boys recommended to us by the Mexican Government. These boys, under an American tutor and assisted by a highly educated Mexican, are being put through a carefully laid out course of assembly, repair and operation instruction at our tractor plant and are being generally informed with regard to agricultural machinery. The boys, after their point of view has been adjusted, prove apt and willing, making excellent mechanics and operators, showing, furthermore, in certain instances, ability as designers and executives.

So a Mexico pacified as has been suggested and given hope of a reward if it bent its energies to industry instead of revolution would find within itself ability for the winning of a splendid victory.

OUR USE OF ENGLISH

BY ANDREW F. WEST

Dean of the Graduate School, Princeton University

I
"I DON'T care what they study, but I want them to know English and to know it good." This declaration was made by a professor in a recent debate on college studies.

Should we know English "good" or know it well? A clear answer to this question will reveal what kind of English we want in our education. To know a thing "good" and to know it well are two different proposals, involving two different theories. The first, no matter how earnest in purpose, stands for careless English and the second for correct English. Careless English, failing to watch its step, slips into greater carelessness and finally stumbles into muddled English, the fit receptacle for muddled thinking.

Is it a small matter? Many seem to think so. For if a man thinks straight, they say, what difference does it make whether he says what he thinks in good English or in poor English? Talk is cheap. Style is

not everything. Words, mere words are of less importance than the thought they express. Such is the argument.

Of course thought is the first thing. No sane person could question this. And of course there are men who love to talk and to hear themselves talk more than they love to think. Thoughtless speech is unworthy of anyone who can think. Yet thought itself, when it first arises, does not even go so far as to take form in the human mind without defining itself in images or words; and only in so far as this happens does it become practicable for us to express thought, whether quietly to ourselves or by telling it to others. The only other way would be to use looks, gestures, kicks, winks, nods, and other primitive signs, as the illiterate often do. The important point here is that the way we use English generally shows the way we think. Good English and good thinking naturally belong together, not apart, just as good fish live in clear streams. I am not pleading for dainty English, though

it has a place—among the bric-a-brac. Nor am I asking for affected English or learned English or even for elegant English or for artifices of any sort, but simply for pure, correct English, the mirror for the clear beauty of thought. For if what we think is to be made clear to others, it ought to be put in language which actually tells in the best way just what we think and ought not to be put in some loose or bungling way.

The question comes up almost every day in almost every walk of life. How many men are obliged again and again to explain, that is, to make plain in words, that something they said was misunderstood and to make clear what it was they really meant by what they said! Take the question of the meaning of any document, such as a treaty, a will, a contract or even a personal letter. Here the first question is not so much What did he mean to say? as What is the meaning of what he did say. If it then turns out that he really meant something different from what he said, it becomes clear either that he did not manage to say what he meant or, even worse, did not mean what he tried to say. It is an unwritten law that men shall say just what they mean and mean just what they say. And if they say it well, so much the better. Saying it well means saying it in accordance with the canons of English usage, because there is no other suitable standard. It ought to be the written law of American education that every child capable of schooling shall be taught well to use English well, both in order to say well what he thinks and to help him think better.

II

One language for all our people is a strong bond of national union. To loosen it is to weaken our national life. Those who think history is "bunk" should read it and discover that one of the surest means of weakening a race or nation is to deprive it of the free use of its language. The presence of large bodies of foreign-born people here who still speak their ancestral tongues from force of habit is entirely tolerable. But it is not tolerable that they should be unwilling to learn and use English. Nor is it tolerable that after their welcome here to full freedom they should fail to have their children promptly learn what is now their language as well as ours. Suppose this situation improves, as it will. Much will then be gained.

But far more is needed. It is not enough simply to do away with this menace to our unity. What we need is to make our language a much more powerful builder of our unity. To effect this, the English we use must be made more nearly one all over the land. Of course dialectal variations and oddities will remain in plenty after every effort has been made. Bad grammar will be to some extent ineradicable. Dialects, oddities and bad grammar, if fully recognized as such, do no great harm, and they add some picturesque touches to our life. Much illiteracy will remain, though not the frightful amount now prevalent. The irreducible residuum of crass ignorance will always be matched by a like amount of illiteracy. But if the vast majority of our people can be brought to a better common use of English, the main result is achieved.

What agencies are there for this gigantic task? Some newspapers and magazines, perhaps the majority. Those now published in coarse or flashy or bungled English cannot help even if they would, because what they print is what their readers want. The case is better with books, though the popular influence of books is less. A great influence for good has been coming from the churches. The Bible, the hymns, the prayers (barring a few extempore efforts)—these have been a living power for good English. Their loss would be irremediable.

Much could be done in the homes, far more than is being done. Think how few fathers and mothers are careful to teach their children English by using it well, no matter how simply, by reading to them, by talking with them about their school lessons, and especially by making the Bible a home book. Let anyone sniff at this, if he likes, and then let him read what Foch and Cardinal Mercier wrote about the Bible and be properly ashamed. The newspaper is the one sure daily reading for most American homes. All see the staring headlines, father reads the stock reports, mother studies the woman's page, and brother cons the sporting columns, with the crude comic supplement also, when it is not kept for the baby. If the Bible, with our poets, novelists, biographers and travelers, were in some degree known and read in every home, even for half an hour a day, a large amount of trashy English would disappear. But to wait for this happy event would be to defer the result too long.

There is just one powerful agency which could be put to use soon in a general way.

That agency is our school and college teaching. Here, in spite of present confusion in counsels, there seems to be a fair chance that our newly quickened impulse of patriotism, coupled with the ever ready willingness of parents to let teachers do for them what they do not care to do themselves, may bring about a stronger insistence that English shall be taught well and amply all over our land. Here again the prime need is good teaching and plenty of it. Unless this is secured soon, the movement will not make much headway. Indeed it will be likely to lose ground, because teachers generally, whether good or bad, are so hard hit by the war that many are being forced out of teaching into business life. They are wanted there on much higher salaries than they can get as teachers. If this difficulty can be met soon by providing better salaries for teachers, the situation will improve. But one other big obstacle will remain.

III

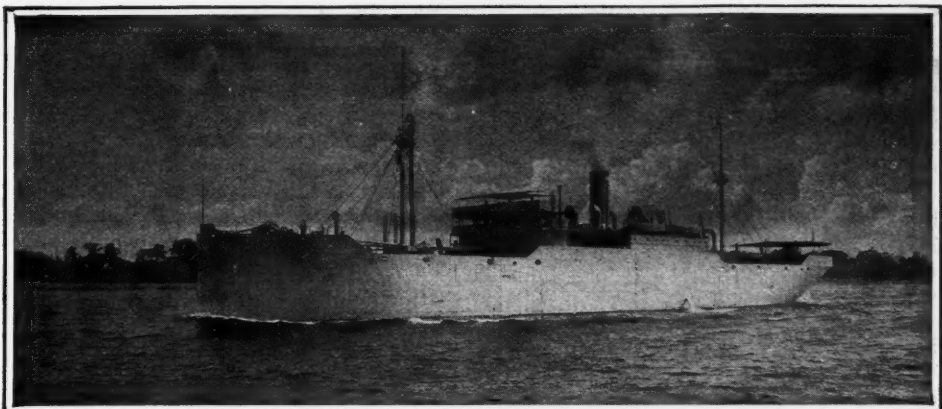
I do not mean the American boy. That frank, careless, lovable object, if caught young, will ordinarily accept good teaching, even though he may not so far demean himself as to admit he likes it. As for the girls, they generally take to study anyhow.

The big remaining obstacle is the marked weakness of American schooling on the side of language and literature. It is our plainest defect. Language is the central core of all true early education and a necessary instrument in all education. The linguistic sense is of slow growth, as befits the formation of a fundamental life-habit of great importance. We are in too much of a hurry. Young students see "no use" in a study which holds out no immediate rewards. Impatience of continuous training in things fundamental is one of our national faults. We are versatile rather than thorough. If we were both, we could lead the world in education. So we shall have to realize, as with surprise, that there is no education without language and no excellent general education without more and better exercise in the use of language, especially of our own language, than we have been providing. Our training here has been small as compared with England, France and Germany.

The thing to do is to provide more extended school study of English guided by first-rate teachers. This means teachers who know well and use well the best English. And what teacher in any subject should not do so? It does not mean that they shall be literary prigs, but that they shall be masters of pure English, and lovers of our literature and history as well. The teachers above the primary schools ought also to know the full history of English, its sources and development, and the great figures which inhabit the broad and lovely realm of English literature. No doubt it is a shock to the ignorant to learn that he who knows only English does not know all about English. It is this "all about" that gives English its environment, its setting, its scenic position in the world's literature. No doubt it is a shock to the philistine to learn that fully half of our language is Greek and Latin, and a greater shock to learn that it is chiefly this which has enlarged English, turning it from a limited into a general modern tongue of marvellous range and power.

The true teacher of English, setting standards for human intercourse in speech, may range all the way from the Greek poets down to the last word of to-day and may affect the expression of thought in every field of knowledge. His work, like all valuable work, has in it much drudgery; for teaching students to write good English is a heroic task, because it is also the task of insistent training the student to think surely and clearly and, if possible, gracefully. His work is also directive in helping to form our national usage. It is patriotic in a high sense. May the day soon come when many such teachers shall have brought our land so nearly to one common speech, understood in all places and by all classes, that we shall speak as with one voice. Then, whatever differences of opinion shall persist, our national consciousness will be one in so far as our national language can help to make it one. In music many voices a little out of tune create a growing discord. But if the discords lessen, the underlying music sounds in clearer tone. So when our language is spoken in better tune all over the land, it will drown the petty discords in its overwhelming unison.





ONE OF HUNDREDS OF STANDARDIZED MERCHANT SHIPS RECENTLY BUILT IN AMERICAN YARDS AND OPERATED BY THE SHIPPING BOARD

(This particular vessel is the oil-burner *Scanitic*, of 7800 tons, a product of the Hog Island yards of the American International Shipbuilding Corporation. Fifty vessels of similar design were turned out of the same yards in a year. In the whole country more than twelve hundred ships have been built within two years)

OUR RESTORED MERCHANT MARINE

BY THEODORE MACFARLANE KNAPPEN

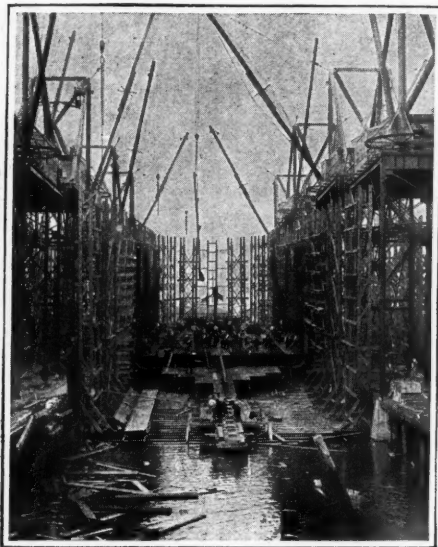
IN April, 1917, the newly organized United States Shipping Board, confronted by the imperative necessity of immediately undertaking a colossal task, but neither knowing what to do nor how, was engaged in an internal wrangle over little wooden ships of 3500 tons dead-weight. In July, this year, it announced that it was about to build two ocean greyhounds of 50,000 tons gross, and a speed of thirty knots—four days to Europe—eclipsing the *Leviathan* and *Imperator*. The gap between the wooden-ship revival wrangle and the colossal palaces of the sea is typical of what has been done in two years. In those two years, short in the retrospect and long in the living, the Shipping Board has revived the American shipbuilding industry, restored the American merchant marine to the high seas and created for the nation to solve a problem of the first magnitude. For eighteen months of the period, the problem was to get ships. So stupendously has that problem been solved that it has created an even greater one—and that is, what to do with the ships.

On the average four new ships a day—yes, *four a day*—are now delivered to the Bureau of Operations. At the head of that

bureau is J. H. Rosseter, one of the greatest managers of ships in the world, but he confesses that he is paralyzed by the immensity of his task. Four ships make a snug little private fleet but Mr. Rosseter gets four more every day. Every week thirty ships are added to his responsibilities. No man ever had such a job as his—and he declares that no man ever ought to have such a job—that it is beyond all possibility of human functioning. To say nothing of chartered and requisitioned ships, he has to direct the movements of a government fleet equal already to the combined size of the ten next largest fleets in the world. At times he has had, including chartered and requisitioned steamships, as high as 1280 vessels under his direct control and much to do with a thousand more.

At Last We Have a Fleet!

The long-hoped-for American merchant marine has arrived and is arriving as no fleet ever came before. Many a minor nation would be proud to boast of a total fleet as large as comes each month from the shipyards of the United States. Through mistakes and blunders, a storm of criticism and a whirlpool of dispute with labor, rows with



ONE OF FIFTY WAYS AT HOG ISLAND SHIPYARD

(The picture shows the simple lines of the standardized steel ship. It also shows the numerous derricks and cranes. On both sides of every vessel are railroad tracks, which permit freight cars to unload at the ship)

builders, quarrels with designers, transportation congestion, the ignorance of half a million green hands and hundreds of equally green plants turned to shipbuilding, the necessity of building yards before ships, of building ten thousand houses for workers, of providing local transit, of training sailors and officers, cumbered with endless investigations, flayed in Congress, clamored at by the Allies, hounded by the army, excoriated by a hundred million impatient patriots who thought that all they had to do was to push the appropriation button and the ships would roll out of the yards like oranges through a sorting table—through it all the task that was given to be done has been done. More than twelve hundred steamships of a gross tonnage of near 5,000,000 have come forth from it all; a thousand more are on the way.

The Trouble We Had Getting It!

We have the ships that we built for war. The war is over. What shall we do with the ships? The fault-finders who once said we would never succeed with the colossal shipbuilding program, now declare that the ships are mostly junk—that their rivets are loose, that their engines don't work, that their design is faulty, that they cost too much, that they are too small or too slow

or that there are too many of some kinds and too few of others, and that anyway we cannot compete with foreign nations on the sea. Much of which is true. Much of the riveting was awful to look at and sometimes it wasn't tight. Ships went to sea with rudders that wouldn't work and turbine gears that broke down. The winches were wrong, the pumps wouldn't pump, the shafting wasn't true, the boilers leaked and the devil generally was to pay. Ships were launched with the riveting half done and with wooden plugs in rivet-holes. Four hundred turbine gears of a certain make were ordered and they all broke down on trial trips, if they ever got that far.

At one time, the Submarine Boat Corporation at Newark—one of the so-called fabricated shipyards—had twenty or thirty vessels waiting for the gears to be replaced or rebuilt. This company's first ship, after several attempts to get away, was finally towed into the Bermudas helpless. A wonderful performance in shipbuilding thus came to temporary grief through no fault of the builders. The gears were provided by the Shipping Board. The builders had only to install them; but nevertheless there lay a great fleet, useless for months. The wooden ships exuded grief. Built of green timber, thrown together in a hurry, it was necessary to recalc everyone of them before they took their maiden voyages. But what else could have been expected?

When the greatest of wars was let loose on an unprepared nation, and to it was assigned, among many others of terrifying magnitude, the task of building ships faster than submarines could sink them, it approached the job empty-handed. In the whole country there were only thirty-seven steel shipyards, good and bad—mostly bad—with 162 ways, capable of building steel ships of more than 3000 tons—and a considerable part of them were on the Great Lakes. All were jammed to capacity for from one to three years ahead with contracts for naval and private ships. Before more ships could be built, old yards must be extended and new yards must be created. Simultaneously, shipbuilders had to be made from green hands. There were 50,000 shipbuilders in the country—all busy—and there was work planned for 400,000.

While the yards were building and the workmen were training and learning, the ships were, of necessity, building. The piling for a way was hardly done before a keel



THE OUTFITTING BASIN OF THE SECOND LARGEST SHIPYARD IN THE WORLD

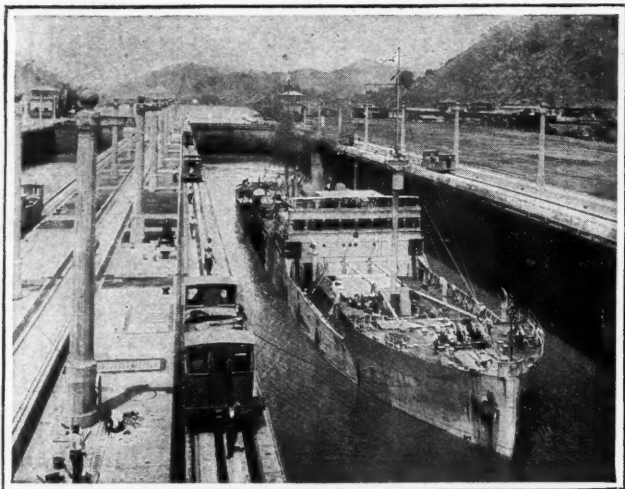
(On marshy land in Newark Bay, N. J., the Submarine Boat Corporation laid down ways for the simultaneous construction of twenty-eight standardized vessels for the Shipping Board. One of the ways can be seen at the right of the picture. After launching, the ships are tied to the pier and fitted with engines, boilers, and all the apparatus that transforms a mere hull into a finished vessel ready for ocean service)

was started. Men who had never seen a shipyard or salt water were driving rivets three weeks from the time they were milking cows, riding the range, tending bar, or shaving faces. Of course their work was crude. Their rivet tops were not pretty and sometimes they were loose.

If there were no skilled workers, there was an equal lack of skilled executives. Men fell over each other in excessive numbers on some ships; on others they stood around waiting for something to do. The managers were as ignorant as the men. All sorts of promoters rushed to exploit shipbuilding, just as all sorts of workers rushed to get the fabulous pay of riveters. For a time, anybody with a water front, a good personal "front," some borrowed blue prints, and a pretty picture of a ship in vision, could get a contract. Some of them made an awful mess of what they got and others with true American adaptability "got away with it." The workmanship was poor, the management was bad, the "know-how" was scarce. Everybody was enrolled in the school of experience and the public was paying for education as well as for ships. But in the end

it got both—though the price was high—and a lot more. Chaos reigned for about a year, but through that chaos form was working. The first ship contracted for by the Shipping Board was not completed until more than a year after war was declared. Of course, it came from the Pacific Coast. Not till September, 1918, did the Board get the first "contract" ship from an Atlantic yard—and that yard, the Federal at Kearny, N. J., had been a swamp twelve months before.

On top of everything else, the worst winter in a hundred years descended on the building shipyards of the Atlantic coast. Green men, tackling an unknown task of formidable proportions, were bedeviled by weather that froze the ground three feet deep, tied up the railways and benumbed the workers. Soft earth, turned to granite by frost, had to be thawed with steam to make way for the excavators and dynamite had to tear out starting holes for piles. Few of the yards were self-contained. Some of them, like the fabricated shipyards—Hog Island, Bristol, and Newark—were merely vast assembling plants for tributary factories



A "HOG ISLAND" SHIP BEING TOWED THROUGH ONE OF THE LOCKS
IN THE PANAMA CANAL

from Boston to San Francisco—and most of them, in turn, depended on other plants. These again depended on others. Resulted a vast confusion of disordination. Machinery arrived before plates, and deck-houses before keels; deck timbers preceded keels and plates beat out frames.

The Whole Nation Goes to Building Ships!

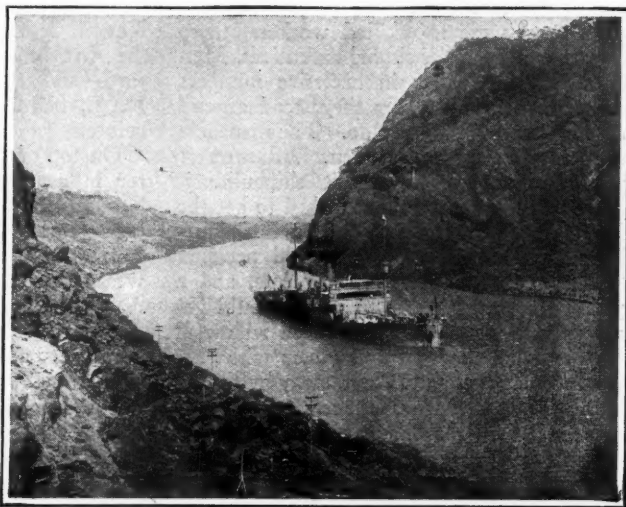
By July 4, 1918, however, Chairman Hurley of the Shipping Board, was in a position to make a great demonstration. On that national natal day, he staged—and staged is the word—the greatest launching in history. Near a hundred ships of more than 450,000 tons splashed into the water from smoking ways all round the ocean and lake fronts of the nation. By this time the new yards and extensions were done or nearly done. The number of yards, both wood and steel, had grown from 61 to 181 and their ways from 234 to 891; and the shipbuilders had increased from 50,000 to 300,000, with another 300,000 behind them in the contributing mills and factories. The 600,000 were not yet finished workmen but they were coming fast.

The whole water rim of

the Republic was turned to shipbuilding. The gigantic building task was played as an epic game of the giant builders of the modern world. Hurley, master of publicity, aroused the whole nation to shipbuilding activity. The East bet against the West and the Great Lakes challenged them both. Men raced to work in the yards with progress "graphs" of heroic dimensions, high in the air before their eyes. Prizes were given to the leading districts and the leading yards each month. A carnival of riveting contests was started. Launching time came down from more

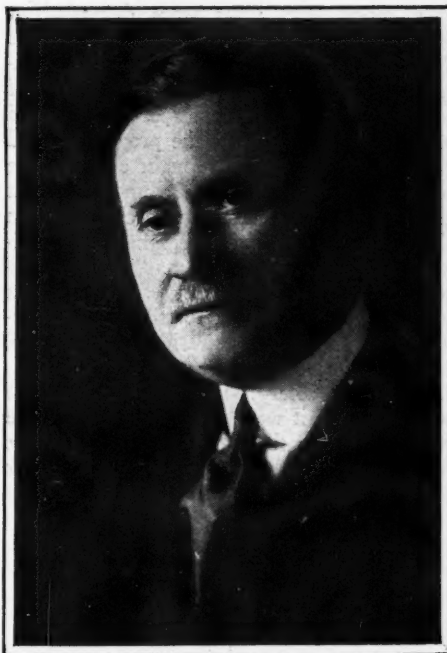
than a hundred to even less than twenty days and smaller ships were at sea within thirty-five days from the first rivet; even a 12,000-ton ship was launched in thirty-one days.

The Pacific coast yards took the lead in rapidity of production and held it to the end. Whether because of more initiative, better climate, stronger men or less to do in other war activities, they got into the collar quicker and pulled more consistently than the rest. Seattle, Tacoma, San Francisco, Oakland, Portland, Los Angeles became shipbuilding centers of the first magni-



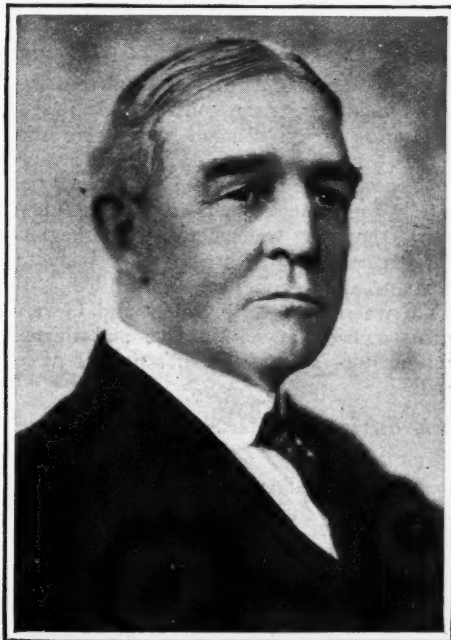
THROUGH THE PANAMA CANAL WITH A CARGO FOR CHILE

tude, even with their steel to haul across a continent. In the first two years of the great contest, fifty-two per cent. of all the ships built for the Shipping Board came from the western coast. But wonders were performed elsewhere. Hog Island—vast, complex, feverishly active, amazingly efficient—arose, as by magic, under the wand of the American International Corporation, from a Delaware River marsh, with a capacity equal to that of all the United Kingdom before the war. Begun in September, 1917, the first keel laid in February, the first launching in August, 1918—in August, 1919, it had launched more than fifty ships and was turning them out at the rate of from five to seven a month. This stupendous record of fifty ships in a year from a single yard stands unequaled, and is a sufficient answer to ignorant fault-finding. "Nine miles of ships from the Great Lakes yards steamed endlessly through the lakes and canals to the sea—their only shortcoming that of size, determined by the length and width of the canal



HON. EDWARD N. HURLEY

(Chairman of the United States Shipping Board and president of the Emergency Fleet Corporation from July, 1917, to August, 1919—two years which saw twelve hundred ships added to our merchant marine)



© Harris & Ewing

HON. JOHN BARTON PAYNE, NEW CHAIRMAN OF THE SHIPPING BOARD

(Judge Payne had long been prominent as lawyer and jurist in Chicago when called to Washington two years ago to become general counsel of the United States Shipping Board. More recently he has been counsel to the Director-General of Railroads; and upon the retirement of Mr. Hurley, in August last, Judge Payne was made chairman of the Shipping Board)

locks. Existing "lakers" of greater size, were cut in two and sometimes the halves were turned on their sides to shove them through the locks. On every hand mighty and amazing tasks were achieved.

Increased Efficiency After the Armistice

By September, 1918, the peak was passed. The submarine's portentous terror was waning and the ships were pouring out of the yards. Even before the armistice was signed the situation was well enough in hand for the Board to begin to consider quality as well as quantity. The brakes were put on wooden-ship production. Small ships were slowed up. Oil was substituted for coal wherever possible. Designs were revised with an eye to competitive efficiency. Larger ships were demanded from the builders and the yards began to produce trade ships rather than war emergency ships.

With the signing of the armistice, much work was suspended and the whole program was revised, as far as progress would permit and economy justify. Wooden ships—admitted to be a liability instead of an asset in peace—were canceled by the hundreds and

even many steel ships were discarded at great sacrifice. There was a complete "about face" in purpose. Enormous contract commitments, the awful waste of scrapping hundreds of ships, the implied promise to workers that the program would be carried through in its main outlines, the industrial stagnation and unemployment that would have resulted from closing down the shipyards, and above all, the almost universal opinion that the war-given opportunity for America to reappear on the seas must not be foregone, resulted in a tacit decision to go ahead with shipbuilding. So, of all the great war industries, it alone continued—and after a little time, outside of wooden ships, it went ahead at a more rapid pace than when the urgency was great. The efficiency of the workers had increased. The yards had become real shipyards. Managers and men had learned their jobs and moreover a job then became something to be conserved. One great yard reported that the efficiency of its labor increased 20 per cent. in the week following the armistice. Haste was no longer the prime consideration but with thorough organization, able supervision and skilled workers, speed increased. There were no more of the thirty- to forty-day ships, which had once thrilled the nation and spurred the builders to fresh efforts, but the volume of output increased. By this time everything was working smoothly. Nearly five hundred ships had been delivered and each was better done than its predecessor. A great fleet was in being, but even more than that, a great new industry was on its feet and the chief element hitherto lacking in successful shipbuilding, a body of trained workmen, had been built up.

A Good Second to the British Marine

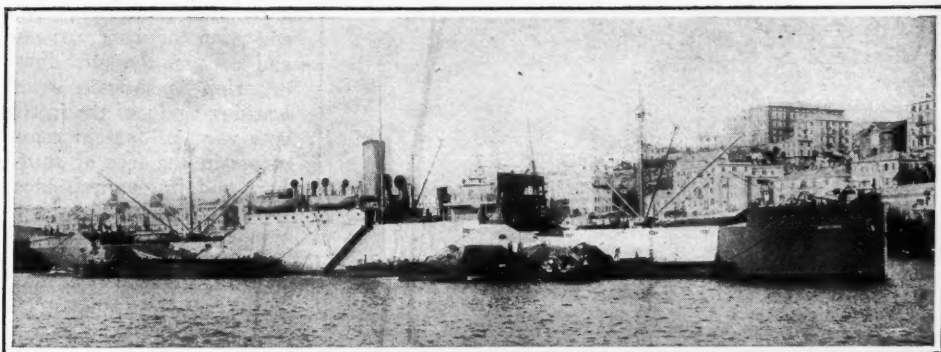
From a one-time contemplated total of more than 3000 vessels of all descriptions and more than 16,000,000 tons dead-weight, the proposed fleet was reduced to a total of 2382 vessels of 13,615,556 tons dead-weight or 9,076,000 gross at a total cost of about \$2,800,000,000—and \$234,000,000 more for yards, housing, administration, etc. By the middle of August no less than 1227 of these ships (4,542,000 gross tons), had been delivered—practically a ship a day from the time the first rivet was driven in 1917. As the program now stands, it calls for 988 steel cargo ships of more than 5000 tons; 482 under 5000 tons; 9 colliers, 19 refrigerators, 21 transports, 32 passenger-cargo;

114 tankers (12 more building under naval supervision); one schooner, 5 barges, and 56 tugs; 307 wooden cargo steamers, 99 finished wooden hulls, 113 barges and 104 tugs—altogether 1,831,000 dead-weight tons of wooden ships; 6 concrete cargo ships and 8 concrete tankers; 17 composite cargo steamers and one hull. As the smaller ships are sold, larger cargo, passenger and passenger-cargo steamers will be added. The 89 seized German ships with their 589,000 tons, including many passenger ships, help "balance" the building fleet.

With 1200 ships yet to come, the American government-owned fleet, alone, had become by mid-August of this year easily the second national mercantile marine fleet in the world, and the combined public and private fleet had already become a very respectable second to the British mercantile marine. The American flag, almost driven from the seas, had become more in evidence in American harbors than any other flag. In July there were 2506 American steamers of 500 gross tons or more in the ocean service of the United States. Their gross tonnage was 8,106,956, besides about a million tons of sailing ships. Moreover, there were 384 foreign steam vessels of 1,262,669 tons that were under American control. Of foreign flag and foreign control there were then 1296 steamships of 5,848,716 tons engaged in American trade. Thus it is seen that purely American steamers engaged in American ocean-going trade now exceed the total foreign fleets in that service, even including foreign ships American controlled. By 1920 we shall have, privately and Government owned, between twelve and thirteen million tons against Britain's present fifteen million.

The Stars and Stripes Again in the World's Ports

Notwithstanding the fact that nearly 2,000,000 tons under the American flag were in government service and not in trade proper, the new fleet was beginning to show great results. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 33.5 per cent. of the water-borne imports of the United States came in American bottoms and 25.5 per cent. of the like exports went out under the flag, or a combined percentage of 25.5 as against 9.7 in 1914. These percentages will show a great forward leap this year, with all foreign-flag vessels released from American control and all or most all the American vessels released



THE FIRST "HOG ISLAND" SHIP—IN AN ITALIAN PORT

(The *Quistconck* was launched on August 5, 1918, christened by Mrs. Wilson. She is an oil-burning freighter of 7800 deadweight tons)

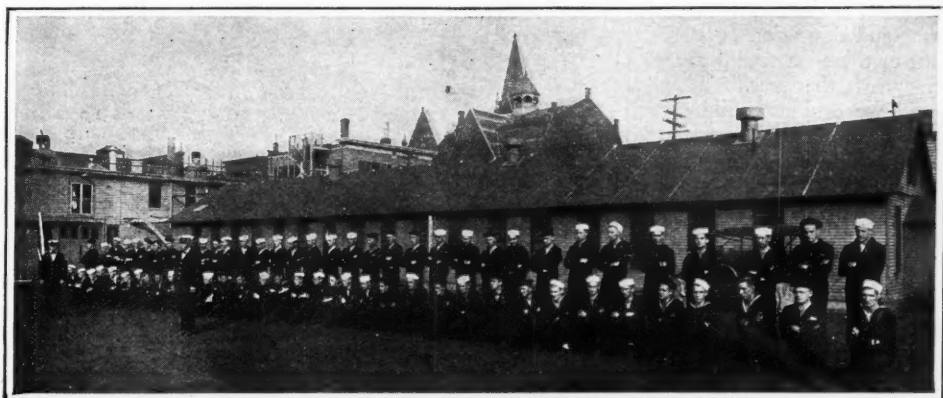
from Government service. We are fast approaching the desired end of having at least 50 per cent. of American foreign trade handled in American ships. Even now there are 3,000,000 tons of our shipping in foreign commercial trade, as against a little more than 1,000,000 tons in 1914, excluding the near two million tons in the vast and varied service of the army, navy, etc.

These ships are carrying the Stars and Stripes into ports that had not seen them on merchant vessels for years. The Government-owned ships ply on sixty-two regular routes and the "tramps" are seen in every port the world around. Already we have more ships in the South American trade than Britain has. The regular cargo lines already established—and more are being created every month—reach out their routes to all

the coasts of South America, to North Africa and Egypt, to the East Indies and India, to Spain, to Constantinople and the Black Sea ports, to West Africa, to South Africa, to Australia and New Zealand, to China, Japan and the Philippines, to all the ports of Europe, and the West Indies. All this is in addition to the eager activities of privately-owned vessels, now almost entirely restored to their owners.

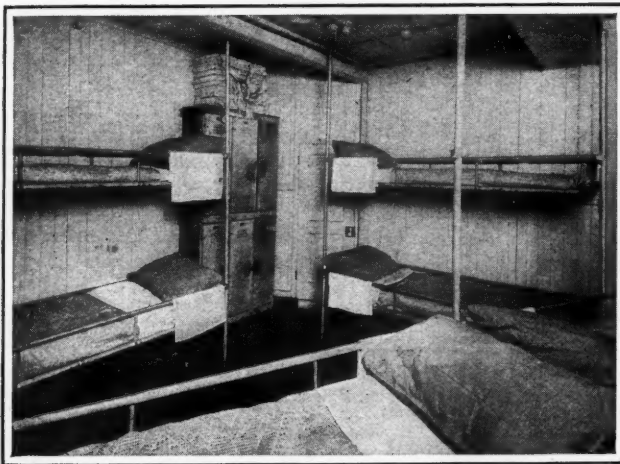
American Crews and Officers

Even more gratifying than the amazing increase in the numbers of American ships is the fact that the crews are largely American. Month by month the percentage of American citizens manning American ships increases. About 70 per cent. of all sailors "signing on" for Shipping Board ships now



READY FOR SEA DUTY ON AMERICA'S NEW MERCHANT SHIPS

(These young men are lined up for final inspection by officers of the United States Shipping Board's recruiting service at the Atlantic Training Squadron Base, Boston. Mr. Henry Howard, director of the service, has planned that the men may obtain varied cruises—coastwise, to Europe, to South America, to the Pacific, and so on. The new merchant marine will require 70,000 sailors, one man in every five an officer)



LIGHT, AIRY, AND CLEAN—THE SLEEPING QUARTERS ON A MODERN AMERICAN MERCHANT VESSEL

are American. The American boy has not belied his sea-going ancestry. The boys are swarming to the training ships and to direct enlistment in the merchant marine, more to the former than can be accepted. The new fleet calls for 70,000 sailors, and it is estimated that 20,000 recruits must be found annually to maintain that number. With one man in every five an officer, with good pay, good quarters and a new merchant-marine prestige, American boys are finding the sea a lucrative, interesting and ambition-inspiring career.

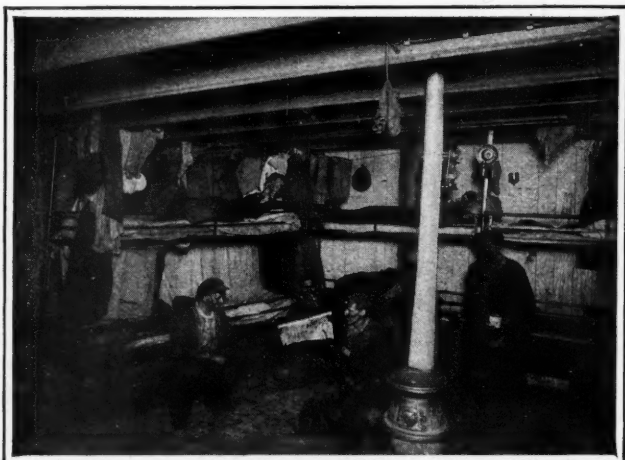
With the new ships comes the new type of sailors—clear-eyed, clean-limbed, keen, self-respecting, energetic, ambitious American boys, all starting at the bottom, with officers' training and education open to all of them—a true democracy of the seas. They said we couldn't build the ships and that American boys would not take to sea again. But there are the ships and there are the boys in their natty uniforms. Getting and training these young fellows is a story in itself that cannot be told here. In that it is like the dry docks and the increased port facilities, the extension and improvement of the repair yards, the \$70,000,000 housing job, the enlargements of bunkering

and oiling facilities, the education of supercargoes and officers, the providing of ship insurance, the learning again of the intricate ways of foreign commerce in the face of stubborn and jealous resistance—and a hundred other things that have had to be done to make lifeless ships into a vital merchant marine.

Every known and proved refinement of machinery, loading and unloading gear, and cunning planning of cargo space, is being installed in every ship. America wins in manufacture by quantity production and a wealth of machinery. Turning to the seas it has realized quantity production of ships and now proposes to make every American ship a model labor saver. High-grade seamen and perfect ship equipment are part of America's bid for dominion of the seas.

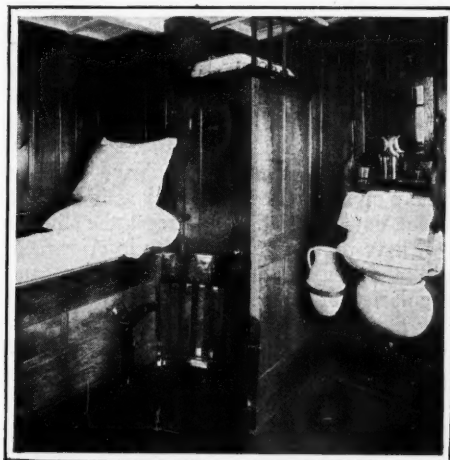
How Shall the Ships Be Operated?

But back to the question—What shall we do with our national fleet? While studying the answer, it must not be overlooked that the fleet is now in business. The Division of Operations of the Emergency Fleet Corporation is actually operating it. The task is monumental, but it is being done; and in



DARK, FOUL-SMELLING AND DIRTY—THE SLEEPING QUARTERS ON AN OLDER TYPE OF VESSEL OF FOREIGN REGISTRY

the doing much is being learned that will help in the future, whatever the final disposition of the fleet. With few exceptions the 1200 steamers (by the time this is in print there will be 1400) are being operated by private shipping corporations and individuals as operators on Government account and as managers. The operator gets the business—the cargo and passengers—and attends to the ship as a commercial venture. Roughly he gets a commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all the ship's earnings. The manager looks after the ship as the representative of the Shipping Board. He pays the crew, purchases the supplies, looks after loading and unloading, cares for the ship, sees to repairs, and generally acts as the owner's representative. His



AN OFFICER'S QUARTERS ON A SHIPPING BOARD VESSEL

compensation is \$400 a month for each ship. Often the operator and the agent are one and the same—but the two different functions are left separate. Between the manager and the operator the ship is managed internally and externally as a business proposition under the general direction of the Division of Operations. The Division gets all the revenues and pays all the bills. In this way are attained a minimum of bureaucratic management and a maximum of private management—that are possible under government ownership and control.

The other way in which the ships, though still in government ownership, might be handled is through charter or lease—either "bare-boat" or fully equipped. This would be comparable to renting a house, furnished or unfurnished. The Government would



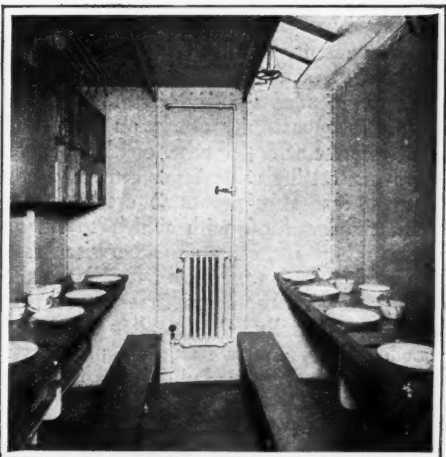
A GROUP OF YOUNG AMERICANS LEARNING HOW TO SAIL THE SEAS

(The Shipping Board maintains ten training bases, and can "graduate" 3000 men each month)

get a flat sum as rent and the lessee or charterer would run the ship for his personal profit. There are many variations of these two principal methods, but they need not be discussed here. Roughly speaking if the Government continues to own the ships, it must keep them in service through one or the other of these plans, their variations or combinations. Direct bureaucratic operation of the ships is unthinkable.

Shipping Profits

Just now the Shipping Board is making money fast—just how fast nobody knows,



A MESSROOM DESIGNED FOR COMFORT AND CLEANLINESS

not even the comptroller. But in its first two years of operations, the board took in \$400,000,000 in cash from the running of the ships—and after figuring 10 per cent. depreciation on the steel ships and 12½ per cent. on the wooden and allowing 5 per cent. for interest, has a good margin—this besides doing the business of the army and navy without profit since July 1, 1918, and not as yet being paid back its cost. And there are big insurance profits, besides. If present profits should continue—which they will not—the fleet would pay for itself in less than ten years, in the depreciation margin alone, or in a little more than six years if the interest item is added to depreciation as an offset against original cost. Besides, the Government would have the ships and the net profits. Fabulous profits have been made on some voyages. While the “knockers” were still telling scandalous tales about the *Quistconck*, the first Hog Island ship, she was making a gross profit of about \$500,000 on her first voyage. Another ship made \$800,000 on a 110-day trip. Transatlantic rates that were once as low as from \$2 to \$4 a ton on certain commodities are now \$20 and during the war were \$66 on American ships and \$88 on British ships. Even at present rates some shipping men declare that a well-managed ship ought to make a gross profit of \$60 a ton a year. With such profits possible, it is argued that the Government ought not to sell the ships now, but operate them four or five years, get its \$2,800,000,000 investment back, and then sell them at whatever they would bring.

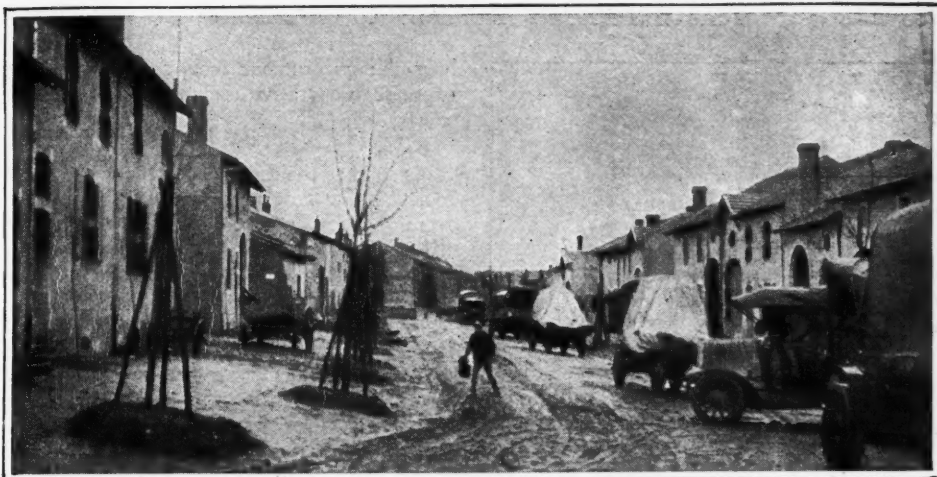
Objections to Government Ownership

The current, however, is setting against government ownership. The Shipping Board has recommended a policy of selling the ships, as fast as opportunity offers, on easy terms with interest at 5 per cent. on the deferred payments, setting aside 1 per cent. and government insurance profits to create a merchant marine fund with which to finance unprofitable routes and otherwise assist American shipping. In the meantime, under its war powers, the board is selling its ships rapidly, especially the smaller steel and wooden ships, and is using the proceeds to continue the revised building program of larger ships. A hundred of the smaller steel ships built on the Great Lakes were disposed

of in a single sale for \$80,000,000. These ships went to foreign buyers, being especially suitable for the Mediterranean and like trades, but the rule is not to sell any vessel of over 6000 tons dead-weight to any but American buyers. At this writing 122 steel ships of 465,745 dead-weight tons have been sold for \$99,642,060; and 63 wooden ships of 246,982 tons for \$27,545,680.

Mr. Rosseter insists that the Shipping Board fleet is far too large for any single human agency; much less a government, especially a government organization, to run efficiently. He considers that a fleet of about 200 vessels is the limit even for the best private management. Himself one of the ablest shipping managers in the world, he declares that the task is far beyond him. He and men like him have served and are still serving the Shipping Board from a sense of patriotic duty—giving up salaries of as high as \$100,000 a year for the Government's \$7500 or \$10,000. These men are now going back to private life. The Government will never again have such a galaxy of brains at its disposal as it has had in the days of trial. If it keeps the ships it will have to manage them with inferior men, and the red tape, inertia, stupidity, and angularity of bureaucracy—not to mention the possibilities of political interference—will, it is argued, gradually, if not rapidly, assert themselves; resulting in the end in loss from operations and an obsolete fleet. On the other hand, selling the ships as rapidly as possible, and operating the rest, it is held that the Government will gradually be able to unload the burden on many competent shoulders, get much of its original investment back, create a great widely owned, well-managed merchant marine which will hereafter grow and thrive on its own merits—for there is general agreement that we can henceforth build ships in competition with all the world and operate them, with good management, at a profit in the same competition.

These are some aspects of the problem that is before Congress and the people. However it is dealt with, we have the ships, we have the men, we have the trade, and our mighty grip on the sea trade will never be released. The flag is on the high seas again—and there to stay. On that we are, all agreed.



VITRIMONT, AS REBUILT AFTER WAR'S DESTRUCTION BY TWO AMERICAN WOMEN, MRS. CROCKER AND MISS POLK (Before the war Vitrimont was a small French village, dirty and run down at the heels. To-day it is "Spotless Town")

EFFORTS TO REBUILD FRENCH VILLAGES

BY MAJ. GEORGE B. FORD, OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

(Director of *La Renaissance des Cités*)

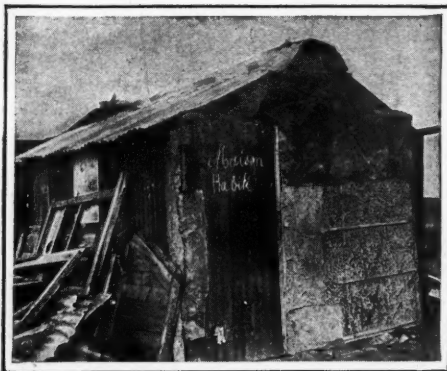
TWO years ago, in motoring along the old battle front of the Marne, I passed through three little farming villages near Vitry-le-François. Nothing was left but a heap of ruins all grown over with weeds and not a living soul in sight—utter desolation—the waste of war.

A few days ago I went back there again. In the three little villages of Glannes, Huiroon and Courdemanges, it was as if a magic wand had been waved over the ruins; fine, sturdy farm barns and comfortable homes had sprung into being; the fields were all being plowed and the villages looked like any of the thousands for which France is so famous, excepting that here everything was new and clean. Better yet, while the villagers were rebuilding they had taken advantage of the opportunities and had really tried to modernize the construction. The buildings were all in the architectural style so familiar in the departments of the Marne and the Meuse in France—long, rambling buildings, red-tiled roofs, and walls of local field stone and brick, sometimes covered with plaster. The farm buildings were all arranged around a large interior court or farm yard with the house on the street. Few

of the farmers have, as yet, been able to rebuild all of their buildings, but, like our New England farmers, they all start with the big barn, even though the family have to live for the time being in a rough wooden shack.

Coöperative Building

I stopped to speak to an alert-looking farmer and he proved to be the mayor of the village of Glannes and the treasurer of the Reconstruction Coöperative Society which had rebuilt all three of these villages. About two years ago a government official in the French Ministry of Agriculture, Commandant Doiree, took it upon himself to see if he could not find some way of getting the farmers to combine forces for rebuilding. Commandant Doiree remembered that in the big floods around Paris in 1910, some of the towns up the river had formed small coöperative organizations for rebuilding, and the idea had succeeded. So he decided to try it on the French farmer in the towns that had been destroyed in the Battle of the Marne in 1914. He had a hard time at first, because the French peasant is by nature conservative and slow to change his ideas.



HUT AT ST. NICHOLAS, FRANCE, BUILT OF CORRUGATED IRON, PAPER, AND WOOD

(The words "*Maison habitée*" are used to indicate to newcomers that this hut is occupied)

However, he persisted and finally got several of these societies organized and at work. I asked the mayor if the members of his organization would recommend the plan to the other farmers in the devastated regions.

"Without any exception," was the reply. "We all believe most heartily in the idea; there is not one man in the lot that is not a thorough convert. We have found that it pays. I will show you our books." The account books show that already 400,000 francs have been spent on buildings for the members of the Coöperative Society; they have already built thirty large farm barns, with dependencies, and six houses. And all of this with virtually no expense in cash to the property-owners.

Cash Advances by the Government

The scheme is very simple, so simple that you wonder why it is not being done everywhere from Belgium to Alsace. The property-owners get together and constitute a coöperative society; they employ one architect for all the members and then they go to the government and ask to have their damages appraised. The government sends expert appraisers who report, on the basis of values as they were in 1914, the property damage sustained by each owner. Despite the fact that the war indemnity bill is not yet voted in France, the Ministry of the Liberated Regions is making advances to the damaged proprietors up to 75 per cent. of their estimated losses when they are acting individually, and up to 90 per cent. of the estimated losses when they are members of a reconstruction coöperative society. This fifteen per cent. extra encouragement shows

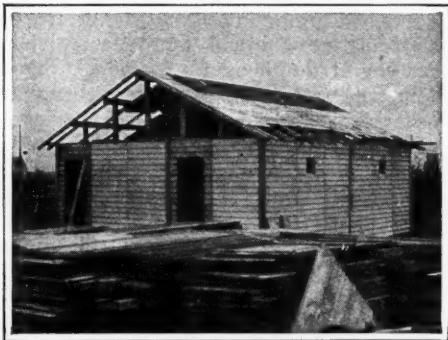
how the government feels about the value of these coöperative societies.

Other Government Aid

As soon as the members of the coöperative society know how much credit they can get from the government right away, they ask the Coöperative's architect to make plans for their farm buildings, starting with the big farm barn. Then they get several contractors to estimate on all of the buildings in one job, with the understanding that no more shall be built for any one proprietor than he has credit to pay for. One contractor is chosen for all of the work of the Coöperative and he sets to work. The French Government furnishes skilled German prisoners who cost the contractor only four francs a day, including their board and lodging, and then he takes on such other French workers as he may need to round out his force. He gets most of the building material from the Engineering Corps of the French Army at cost and he gets transportation in the same way. If there is anything the French Government cannot furnish him, he goes out and buys it.

As the building work proceeds the contractor presents his bills to the architect, who verifies them and then presents them to the Coöperative Society. The Coöperative in turn verifies them and then sends them to the local service of the Ministry of Liberated Regions, who pays the bills against the allowed advance on the indemnity. If the Coöperative Society has incurred any expenses outside of the bills, these, too, are presented to and paid by the government, always against the indemnity advances.

The result is that the Coöperative Societies, with the help they get from the gov-



A TYPE OF SUBSTANTIAL PORTABLE HUTS THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IS ERECTING AT LA BASSÉE AND OTHER DESTROYED TOWNS TO HOUSE THE REFUGEES



HOUSES IN A FRENCH VILLAGE REBUILT BY THE COÖPERATIVE PLAN

ernment, in view of the fact that the reconstruction work costs two and one-half times as much as it did in 1914, are actually able to rebuild over half of their original plant without having to put any of their own cash into it, whereas the isolated individual who rebuilds in the ordinary way of business can rarely rebuild more than a quarter of the original plant without going into his own pocket. The job of rebuilding the devastated regions is so stupendous that if each individual is going to rebuild by himself the work will never be done. It is only by some sort of united effort and pooling of interests that any change in the situation can be made.

Two California Women Rebuild a Village

There is another way in which united effort can and in fact in one case has actually accomplished the reconstruction of a whole village.

The little farming village of Vitrimont, down in the rolling hills of the Department of the Meurthe-et-Moselle, had some 265 inhabitants before the war. It was a typical farming village of the region, having two wide main streets with a line of manure piles and farm-wagons the length of either side. It was as dirty as any other town of the region. In 1914 it was completely destroyed by the Germans. A group of California women, headed by Mrs. Crocker and Miss Daisy Polk, asked Prefet Mirman of the Department of the Meurthe-et-Moselle, to give them a village to reconstruct; he offered Vitrimont.

In the fall of 1916, I passed through the

village and in the one remaining house I found Miss Daisy Polk installed, buried in blue prints and estimates; the first workmen were arriving that day—fifty of them that she had gathered together from anywhere in France. It looked like a hopeless job, but it did not daunt her.

A New "Spotless Town"

I went back there again last spring, and I found myself walking down the "Rue de Californie" in as charming a model village as you could hope to find outside of a child's picture-book. Everything was spotlessly clean; the manure piles had disappeared behind the houses; even the decrepit farm wagons that used to line the streets had disappeared somewhere; trees were planted along the streets and the houses and farm-buildings themselves, which recalled all that was best in the local style of architecture, were gay and attractive with their red-tiled roofs and their harmoniously painted doors and windows; even the windows looked different because they had been increased in size and number and the rooms which they opened into were now full of sunlight. Inviting benches were in front of the houses and boxes full of bright flowers were in the windows.

I went inside and found clean, tiled floors and attractive painted walls—no more of the seven-layer-deep wall-paper which the department stores used to foist on the indiscriminating farmers. There was good substantial furniture and a general air of well-being and homelikeness which was a joy to



A GROUP OF TEMPORARY DWELLINGS ERECTED BY THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS FOR THE FRENCH AT SERMAIZE

see. Even the foul privies had given place to more sanitary arrangements and the wells had been protected against the infiltration of harmful matter. The farm yards were orderly, with everything in its place. A feeling of self-respect and a desire to live up to the surroundings seemed to have come over the whole village.

This fortunate village seemed to be very happy in its good luck; for, after all, the villagers have now everything that they had before, with lots of new and better things added, and it did not cost them a cent. They simply made an arrangement with their benefactors whereby all of the eventual indemnity which they will receive some day from the French Government will be ceded directly to the American group, who, in turn, expect to use it for whatever public buildings or services the village may need for their common use.

The work is most inspiring—a really wonderful object-lesson of what might be done in most of the 2500 destroyed villages and towns. For if the greater part of them are to be reconstructed with the devotion that has been shown in Vitrimont, the liberated regions of France will become the Utopia of the world.

The Big Towns

However, when it comes to the question of reconstructing cities like Lens, Cambrai, Arras, etc., the proposition is a more difficult one. Take Lens, for example — a prosperous coal-mining town of some

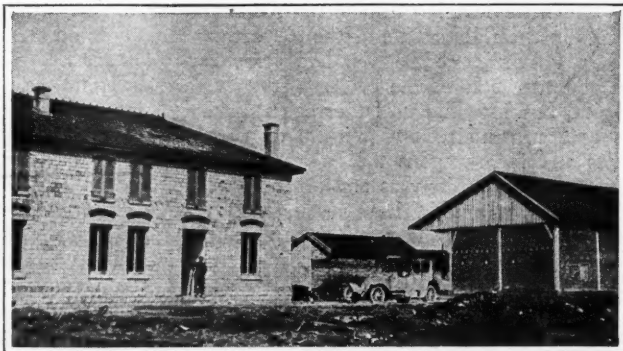
32,000 inhabitants before the war. It is now so completely wiped out that you can almost traverse the length of the city without realizing that you are passing through what was once one of the most active industrial centers of France. One can stand in the main street in the center of the town and in every direction as far as one can see there are nothing but formless heaps of broken bricks and sticks of wood, with occasionally a fantas-

tic mass of twisted iron, the only thing which rises a little above the level of the eye. You wonder how any one knows where to begin to tackle such a problem. The rich coal beds are still there under the ground and within a couple of years the engineers will have part of the mines again in operation. The miners and their families and all the attendant business of the town will have to come back. It must come back, for the future of France depends on the utilization to the fullest extent of its natural resources.

Difficult Problems of Reconstruction

The big problems which every town has to face are, first: What to do with the materials taken out of the ruins. Of course, if there are some swamps around the town they could be filled up so that the land could be used for industry. But in most towns it is much more difficult.

Then, second, there is the problem of the unexploded shells which lie buried everywhere in the ruins. They make it impossible to use our modern steel shovels, as the



HOUSE AND BARN ERECTED BY THE COÖPERATIVE SCHEME



A MUCH-DAMAGED BUILDING AT ST. CATHERINE, FRANCE, NOW DOING DUTY AS A GROCERY STORE, AS IT DID BEFORE THE WAR

records show that one in ten of the shells explodes when hit. Already hundreds of people have been killed or seriously wounded in the clearing-up process. To-day there are over 280,000 German prisoners, colonials, and others, at work, clearing up the fields and the ruins. But after signing of peace it is a great question where the labor is coming from to do this dangerous but most necessary work.

There is yet another problem—the question of property rights. There are so many little property-owners who have nothing in the world except the land on which their home and shop used to stand! They cannot afford to buy new land, and unless the government can find some way of carrying the further burden of giving them new land to replace that on which their home used to stand, their position is going to be almost hopeless.

When you realize that there are some 2500 of these destroyed towns and villages, with over half a million buildings damaged, of which well over 200,000 are completely destroyed; when you realize that there are over 2,000,000 people dispossessed—over one-twentieth of the best earning power of France—and that probably 95 per cent. of these people want to get back as



HOUSE AND SHED REBUILT BY INDIVIDUAL EFFORT IN VASSINCOURT

soon as they can to their business or industry, you begin to get some idea of the stupendousness of the task before the French Government and the French builders and bankers.

However, they are all tackling their problems with a will. Of course, the work goes slowly at first, as it must be organized on a big scale if anything effective is going to be done. In other words, the government is concentrating now on the most urgent things that must be done first if the big reconstruction program of the future is going to be carried out in its logical sequence, and the American and French relief units working in the devastated regions are doing a wonderful work in keeping up the morale of the pioneers who have come back.

Restoring the Land to Cultivation

The first thing is to get the farming land back into cultivation and the 280,000 men that are working on this job are making rapid progress. By next fall, except for the 275,000 acres of land that are so badly churned up that it is quite worthless trying to do anything to them, the best part of the 2,000,000 acres that need attention will be back under cultivation.

As far as there is a means of earning a livelihood, either in agriculture, commerce, or industry, the refugees are coming back and the government is having thousands of

demountable houses and barns made and sent up to the devastated regions, and in addition is taking over hundreds of barracks from the army which it is setting up as receiving stations until the refugees can be housed on their own properties. The Committee for Relief of Belgium is helping greatly on this and is now providing and setting up, with the help of 600 men from the United States Navy, some 360 large barracks. The American Red Cross is also furnishing some 200 demountable houses, and the Anglo-American Society of Friends is providing and setting up some 700 more, in addition to having repaired about 800 houses.

Hundreds of government tractors are already at work in the devastated regions. Farming implements and machines, seeds, fertilizer, cattle, poultry, etc., are being supplied to the returning refugees against their eventual indemnity.

One of the first impressions on traveling through the devastated regions is that the task is too enormous for any human beings to undertake. It looks hopeless. However, as you see here and there on every hand all of the thousand little attempts that are being made to bring order out of chaos, you begin to realize that after all the resurrection is already well started and that, thanks to the indomitable spirit of the French, the silver lining is not far off.



CHATEAU-THIERRY TO-DAY

IS BRITAIN GOING BANKRUPT?

AN ENGLISHMAN'S SURVEY OF THE SITUATION

BY P. W. WILSON

(Special Correspondent of the *London Daily News*)

IN August, 1914, London was still the leading money market of the world. Even at that time, however, most forward-looking people had realized that with Europe acutely divided by political feuds and burdened by military despotism, the center of financial gravity must pass before long westwards across the Atlantic. In the United States, the war has made twenty thousand new millionaires, and there is high financial authority for the statement that the country is richer than she was even when she entered into active hostilities. But the Old World is terribly impoverished. The cost of the war has been at least 200 billion dollars. War wastage amounts to a further 250 billion dollars. Nearly all of this loss falls on Europe, and the question to-day is no longer where financial preëminence lies—that is decided inevitably in favor of the American Republic—but to what extent the actual solvency of European nations is impaired. The United States has lent about nine and one-half billion dollars to her friends in the war, and of this immense sum half has gone to England. It is the situation in England that I propose to examine.

England's Napoleonic War Debt Quadrupled

About one hundred years ago, the battle of Waterloo ended the career of Napoleon. After twenty years of war, the United Kingdom was left with a total debt of four and one-half billions of dollars. Including Ireland, she had then a population of twenty millions, and the amount of debt per head was therefore \$225. Now consider the position to-day. In the five years ending in August, Britain has spent fifty billion dollars. By taxes she has raised fifteen billion dollars and she has borrowed thirty-five billion dollars. Her total national debt is thus at least forty billion dollars. Her population has risen to forty-five millions, and the average debt per head is about \$890, or four times the burden after Napoleon's defeat.

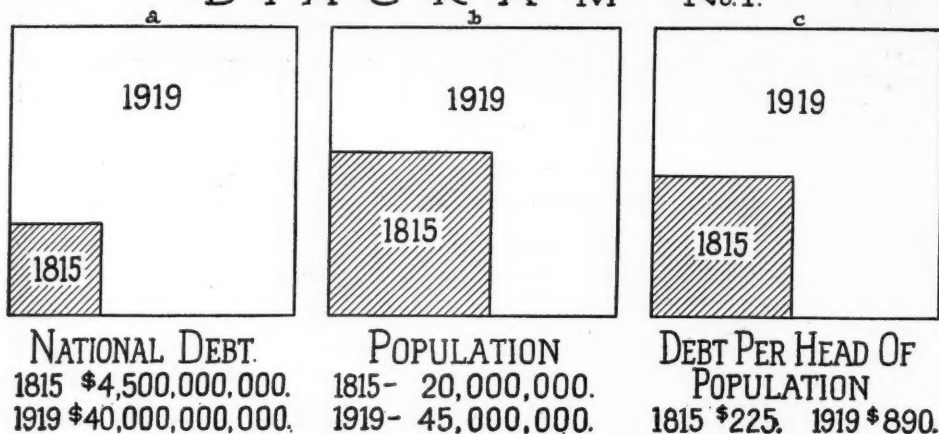
It is quite true that against this later debt certain assets should be reckoned. To her Dominions and her Allies Britain has lent eight and one-half billion dollars, but of this sum nearly three billion dollars has gone to Russia and must be written off. Italy has had two billions while Belgium and Serbia between them have received half a billion. The rest has gone to France. Between friends who have suffered together you cannot drive a hard bargain, and Britain will be fortunate if ultimately she realizes 50 per cent. of these obligations.

Since the Napoleonic era her wealth has enormously increased, but it must be clearly understood that the extent of her empire is wholly irrelevant to the problem of her solvency. With a great empire, Spain was bankrupt and her finances actually improved when she lost Cuba. It is quite true that imperially Great Britain means 450 million persons. But financially her population is one-tenth of this. Mindful of their own history, there are still Americans who think that Britain taxes her colonies and this impression is confirmed by certain Irish propaganda. As a matter of fact, the Indian, Dominion and Colonial budgets are quite separate from the British budget, nor is their money voted by Parliament, save in so far as these possessions receive subsidies. The British balance sheet therefore rests entirely on British shoulders.

Four Times as Heavily Mortgaged as America

Before the war Britain was undoubtedly saving money. Every year she invested nearly two billions of dollars. As a result her property of every kind, including foreign securities, rose to at least eighty-five billions of dollars. It is against this figure that she has had to raise her national mortgage of forty billions. Some authorities would put the wealth of Britain higher than eighty-five billions, but on the most favorable assumption she has borrowed up to 40 per cent. of her accumulated heritage.

D I A G R A M No.1.



GREAT BRITAIN'S NATIONAL DEBT OF 1919 COMPARED WITH THAT OF 1815

Let us see how in this respect she compares with the United States. The wealth of this country is 225 billion dollars. Her debt amounts to twenty-six and one-half billion dollars, or under 11 per cent. of total wealth.

In other words, the British mortgage is four times as severe as the American mortgage. Since the population of the United States is more than double that of the United Kingdom, the comparison holds good broadly for debt per head. The British figure is \$890 and the American is \$200 per head.

Britain's Revenues Equal to Those of United States

Naturally there arises the question, what sacrifice Britain will have to make if she is to pay interest and sinking fund on her debt. Before the war it is calculated that the total income of residents in the United Kingdom, received as wages, salaries, profits, dividends, and so on, was eleven or twelve billions annually. Roughly, it was \$5 a week per person. Of this income, the state received in taxes one billion, or one-tenth. After Waterloo, it is calculated that about one-third of the total national income went to the state.

In the current year Britain will raise about six billion dollars, or almost exactly the same sum as the revenue which Mr. Secretary Glass estimates for the United States, yet Britain has less than half the wealth and less than half the population of this country. In a normal year of peace she must raise two billion dollars, or more than double her former revenue for the service

of her debt alone—that is, for interest and a sinking fund of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. For many years to come she must face taxes of four and one-half to five billion dollars annually. This means that she is easily back again at the Napoleonic standard of taxation.

Indeed, Britain's situation would be worse if it were not for the fact that her total national income has greatly increased owing to higher wages, pensions and allowances. It is this increase which will probably enable Britain to retain some part of her pre-war saving fund. Despite much social extravagance of a temporary character, the war has taught the people how to invest their money with the state.

We are now in a position to understand the recent warnings uttered by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, his Finance Minister. The current fiscal year ends in March, 1920. It was estimated that Britain would spend seven billion dollars. As revenue we should raise six billion dollars, and our deficit, due to reconstruction and demobilization, would be one billion dollars. It has been abundantly clear, however, that our spending departments would not keep within even these colossal figures. On aircraft no less a sum than 300 million dollars was to be lavished. Before the war the entire British Navy did not cost that amount. Actually, 25,000 aeroplanes are being constructed! As for the Navy, 700 million dollars was assigned, which was more than double what that navy cost when it was faced by the German fleet. In these estimates there was neither rhyme nor reason, and a startling series of by-elections con-

vinced Mr. Lloyd George that he must either economize or quit. Among other things, giant Zeppelins are being cancelled, while even Lord Fisher denounces mammoth battleships.

Knowing the British Treasury fairly intimately, I am satisfied that if they estimate a revenue of six billion dollars, they will get it. This, however, does not mean that the said revenue will be of necessity permanent. It includes at least one billion derived from sale of surplus war goods. It also includes one and one-half billion of excess profits, which levy is admittedly temporary. In two years, therefore, the revenue will automatically fall to four and one-half billion dollars, even if the country remains industrially prosperous. Hence the anxiety that production should be in every way stimulated. This result depends first upon avoidance of strikes and secondly upon taking back into industry all who have been demobilized whether from the army or from munition works. On the whole, there is less unemployment in Britain than might have been feared. When the armistice was signed, 199 out of 200 wage-earners were at work. Idleness was negligible. Although millions have been turned back into peaceful industry, the unemploy-

DIAGRAM No.2.



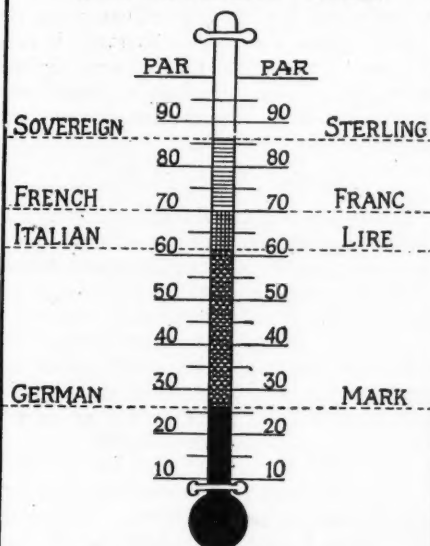
DEBT PER HEAD
OF POPULATION IN
GREAT BRITAIN - \$890.
UNITED STATES - \$200.

ment returns still continue under 3 per cent., and I imagine that the worst is over, provided always that an economic crisis can be avoided.

Last year, without her latest taxes, Britain raised the astonishing sum of four and one-half billion dollars. It was, of course, the direct tax that did it, and it is now evident that for such revenue purposes, the yield of customs duties, though important, is quite a subordinate item. France has to face the same situation, and one reason why there has been such a demand for reparation by Germany is the fear of French statesmen lest they may be overwhelmed by the old standing hostility of the French people to declaring their property and income. During the general election of last autumn, Mr. Lloyd George declared that Germany would be made to pay for the war. From whatever Germany pays, Great Britain must now expect to receive little or nothing by comparison with her liabilities.

Hence the desire by many people that there should be a capital levy which would cut the war loss once for all. The plan would be to reckon everybody dead and levy on them estate duties. Some enthusiasts proposed to kill the nation a second time in ten years. Others, however, maintain that whatever is gained by a capital levy would be lost in income-tax returns. For Americans the important point to notice is that no capital levy would injure the foreign holders of British securities. No national debt as such would be seized and the levy would

DIAGRAM No.3.



SHOWING THE FALL
IN THE EXCHANGE
WITH NEW YORK

only fall on persons who, owing to residence in Britain, are already liable to her taxation.

In the International Market

Everything thus depends upon Britain maintaining her commerce. Here her main difficulty at the moment is the fall in the value of the sovereign sterling from a par value of \$4.86 to \$4.20, or even to a less figure. This means that Britain pays to the United States 13 cents to the dollar extra on everything she buys, while receiving from the United States 13 cents to the dollar too little on everything she sells. It is perfectly true that of all the great European nations Britain is at the moment in the most favorable position. The French franc has fallen 30 per cent. The Italian lire has fallen 39 per cent., and the German mark 74 per cent.

The reason is obvious. In the year ending June 30, the exports of the United States were seven and one-quarter billion dollars while the imports were only three billion dollars, leaving a balance in her favor of four billion dollars, or reckoning silver, more than this. Until recently the exchanges were supported because, among other things, Congress had authorized credits in this country not to exceed ten billion dollars. This limit has now been almost reached, and Mr. Hoover has asked that a further three or four billion dollars be advanced. London is to some extent embarrassed because she is the creditor of every country except the United States, and other countries anxious to deal with the United States use London as the medium.

Various schemes have been proposed whereby the exports from the United States may be financed through combinations of banks allowing some form of long credit. At the time of writing, these measures are still delayed, with the result that in the month of July there was a sharp fall of 384 million dollars in American exports, while American imports increased fifty-two millions. It is obvious that in the long run, Europe cannot go on buying from the United States unless she gives something more tangible than paper in exchange. That value need not come directly from Britain. She might help to pay the United States by exporting coal to Italy or machinery to the Argentine. Hence the seriousness of the recent addition of six shillings a ton to the price of her coal, which is one of the commodities that she has to offer.

Even before the war, the United States

exported 500 millions of dollars worth more than she imported, but Britain paid for these goods by freights and with the interest due to her on her American investments. I suppose that about a billion dollars' worth of these investments have been sold back to the United States, which fact shows how important it is for Britain to retain her share of the carrying trade of the world. Some people think that the balance can be made even by means of shipments of gold. It is quite true that Germany has recently disposed of an immense sum from her gold reserve, but the total production of gold throughout the world is only 300 million dollars a year, and although the South African output, amounting to 170 million dollars a year, may help matters by transferring British indebtedness from New York to the Cape, the fact remains that gold is no solution. Already in the United States it is passing from currency into manufacture, showing that it is more valuable as a commodity than as a coin.

Thus there is nothing for Britain except the simple plan of working out her salvation, and I use the term "working out" advisedly. She has to take raw materials and turn them into manufactures, beginning first with her own coal and iron. Happily her exports of manufactured articles are increasing. Despite the terrible disadvantage of having to buy at a premium from the United States, the world's shortage is such that there are markets for whatever Britain has to sell. The American exchange may be against her, but the continental exchanges are in her favor.

American Money in Europe

It may be that certain other factors will assist the situation. In the United States there are many families of European descent which transmit money to their friends in the old country. The distresses of Germany and Eastern Europe will tend to increase the amount of these domestic gifts. Also, immense numbers of Americans are likely to visit Europe during the next year or two and to spend there considerable sums of money. One hopes that they will be made welcome without being overcharged or subjected to vexatious surveillance. During the war, what I may call re-emigration, especially to Italy, was almost suspended, but there are now a million or two Americans, or at least residents in America, who wish to go back to their former homes and there

spend the savings which they have made in this country.

Finally, as a rectifying circumstance, I must mention the inescapable laws of political economy. Americans know that if they send their money over to England they can purchase British securities at 13 per cent. off the cost price. That is a tremendous inducement, especially as it is morally certain that par value will be restored in a short space of time.

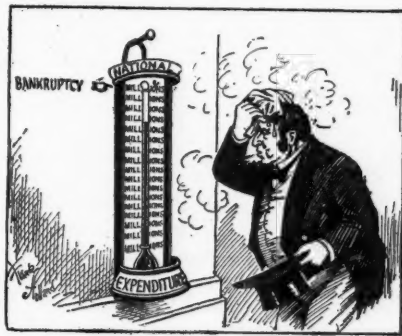
The Argument for a Preferential Tariff

Possibly I ought to say a word upon the idea entertained by British protectionists that things over there might be helped if there were a prohibitive tariff and preferential arrangements within the British Empire. It must be plain that the state of the exchange acts as a tariff, at any rate against the United States, and the embargo on American goods (now largely lifted) has been fiercely resented by British Liberalism and Labor on the ground that it inspires profiteering. To the territories under the British sovereignty, there have been immense additions, and to-day this sovereignty includes nearly a third of the human race. It has been clear to many British thinkers that the rest of the world would have serious reasons for jealousy if there were not equal trade facilities for all nations within the British Empire, and especially within those portions of the Empire which have not yet received self-government.

The basis of British commerce must be international rather than imperial. It has always been so. While Britain traded largely with Canada, so did they also trade with the Argentine. Of Britain's three chief cotton markets—India, China and the Near East—only India was within the British Empire. While we are often told that a contributory cause of the war was the commercial rivalry between Great Britain and Germany, the actual records show that each of these two countries imported into the other a higher value of goods than Germany

imported into or received from Austria-Hungary, although the population of Austria-Hungary is 50 per cent. higher than the population of the United Kingdom. The British export trade with Germany was considerably more valuable than her export trade with the United States and each country was undoubtedly adding to the wealth of the other.

If, then, Britain only maintains her output, she may rest assured that she will always have a market, nor need she mind very much where she sells her goods. With the return of peace, there comes a reversal of war conditions. A year ago, it was essential that Britain with her Allies should maintain a blockade of Germany. To-day it is reported from Cologne that British agents are anxious to sell to German buyers who wish to purchase, but that there is no currency in which payment can be made owing to the depreciation of the mark. So is it that little by little, after the great catastrophe, do we find human solidarity restored. About the commercial activity of Britain there can be no doubt. Credit banks are being established to develop special lines of foreign trade. We may take it that inflated currency will be quietly reduced as opportunity offers. A hard struggle lies ahead, but we have escaped the worst disasters.



THE FINANCIAL THERMOMETER

JOHN BULL: "Phew! If it keeps on getting hotter like this I shall simply collapse."

From *Reynold's Newspaper* (London)



UNIVERSAL TRAINING FOR NATIONAL SERVICE

BY JOHN ERSKINE

[Professor Erskine's ten years of experience as a member of the faculty of Columbia University would alone entitle him to a hearing on matters relating to the educational training of American youth. His recent service in France renders him the more qualified to discuss the subject and to make constructive suggestions. Professor Erskine was chairman of the Educational Corps Commission of the American Expeditionary Forces and educational director at the University established by our army at Beaune, France.—THE EDITOR]

NO problem now before the United States is more important than the question of national education. Even while we were preparing for war we had occasion to feel some alarm at certain weaknesses in our educational system revealed by those preparations. At the same time so amazed were we at the resourcefulness of our national character in times of stress, that we asked why our great national resources of character and of skill should not be mobilized more completely in times of peace for the constant good of the country. Now that the war is past we find ourselves facing the special problem of training for national defense. Some kind of army we must have, large or small, and some kind of training. Shall we give this training only to a group of professional soldiers? Shall this training look only to the contingencies of war?

Suggestions Based on Recent Experience

Some of us who have been working with our fellow citizens on foreign soil, and from that distance have been looking back toward our country, studying it with increased affection and perhaps also with increased concern, earnestly hope that our people at home will compel training for national defense, and that they will interpret national defense in a larger way than any nation has yet thought of. We have in mind of course the total needs of American education—the need of more and better schools, the need of large revisions in college and university curricula, the need of a strong national department of education. For the moment, however, we have in mind particularly the defects of education observed in the United States Army in France, and also what the educational program in the American E. F. has done to

remedy those defects; and since we are convinced that the time has come for all progressive nations to organize for peace as well as for war, conceiving of national defense as preparation for peace and war, we would address ourselves for the moment to the specific problem of national training.

Compulsory Training—Half Military, Half Civil

The principles according to which we would envisage such national training, are five. In the first place, the idea of universal service should be expanded to include training for all other duties of citizenship beside military, and to include training of all prospective citizens, even of those physically unfit for military service. In the second place, the present temporary cantonments in the United States, or equivalent cantonments, should be converted at once into permanent training schools for citizenship. In the third place, a permanent educational corps should be added to the army; this corps should be formed of the most competent experts in school, in vocational, and in the more elementary college subjects; from time to time competent officers in other branches of army service should be assigned to this corps. In the fourth place, there should be a compulsory training period of twelve months with the colors, from September first to September first or from June first to June first, or between any other dates which should be found practical—care being taken simply to fit this period into other educational or vocational obligations. This training should be begun between the ages approximately of eighteen or twenty, perhaps a little earlier or a little later, as experience might prove advisable. Approximately one-half of this

training should be for military science and for physical development, the other half for training under military discipline in school, in vocational, or in college subjects. In the fifth place, the citizen in training should be free to elect the kind of civil education he receives, with the exception that training in elementary subjects should be compulsory for illiterates and for the foreign-born.

National Deficiencies Exposed by the Draft

The mobilization of the American Army demonstrated that an astounding number of native-born citizens are illiterate, and that of our foreign-born citizens a still larger number cannot read or write the English language, and in some cases cannot understand it. The mobilization demonstrated also that an appalling number of our young men are not in proper physical condition. It is unlikely that any economic or social pressure will tend to remedy these evils. The illiterate citizen can make a living of a sort more or less satisfactory to himself, and the foreign-born can associate with others of his origin, and both classes can avoid that social criticism which would urge them toward complete citizenship. In fact, economic and social pressure tends actually to segregate in our country the illiterate elements and the various groups of foreign-born, and unless some strenuous effort is made to weld all these groups into one, there is no likelihood of change in these unfortunate conditions.

The program of education in the A. E. F. has demonstrated, on the other hand, that even brief courses of study followed intensively under military discipline are adequate to correct illiteracy and to teach our language. The whole experience of our Army demonstrates further that if brought together in a common purpose the various elements of our population can be speedily made into one nation. We should now find a means to provide these benefits for our country in time of peace.

Even those soldiers who are neither illiterate nor unable to command the English language show to a distressing degree the inefficiency of our popular education. The men waiting to return to the United States are pathetically eager to master some trade or some profession in order to be sure of a worthy place in the society to which they are returning. Far more than one-half of the A. E. F. are without adequate training for any trade or profession, and perhaps be-

cause of the intellectual stimulus of their experiences in the war the men themselves are uncomfortably aware of their lack. It is disturbing to think that they may miss their proper place in their generation. It is more disturbing to reflect, however, that even had they not come to Europe in the army, they would still have been without training for professions or trades; in fact, through the army educational program they are now accidentally receiving such training and preparation for citizenship as is provided nowhere in the United States for any large group of men. It seems folly not to make permanent in our national life for all citizens the advantages which many soldiers now temporarily enjoy.

A Satisfactory Average, Greatly Improved

The mobilization of our army has shown on the other hand how rich potentially the manhood of our nation is, and how quickly it responds to the regular life and the scientific care which even a hurried preparation for war supplied. The soldiers in general enjoy such health as is the rule in no other community. The total discipline of their life—regular hours, rational diet and decorum of conduct—has brought out their best physical and moral traits, so that to look at the average group of American soldiers is a satisfaction; and this condition of health and good living has quickened to the full their intellectual capacities, so that those who have taught them in all subjects from the most elementary to the most advanced have wondered at their eagerness and ability to learn.

Furthermore, the life in the army has developed in our youth a sense of social coöperation which some of us had feared was lacking in the American character. No body of men in our country seems now more eager to study and to deal intelligently with the social problems which confront us than the men of the army who have been learning in a kind of laboratory course what responsibility man owes to his fellow. The fact that in the army they have met other Americans from all parts of the country, has developed a new sense of nationality; and the meeting in the same ranks of rich and poor has developed a new sense of democracy. These advantages of health and morals, of intellectual awakening, of patriotism and of democratic sympathy, we desire to provide for each generation in our country, as much for those who are never called into battle as for

those who in time of the nation's need answer the call.

The Army a University of Citizenship

It is the logic of our course in this war that our army, organized to defend the ideals of civilization, is now proving itself to be a vast university of citizenship. It would be the most profitable result of the war for our country and for the world, should this university in citizenship become permanent for all our people.

This training should be provided for all men not mentally defective. Even those who are physically unfit for military service can derive great benefit from such bodily training as is suited to their needs, and quite as much as other men they can derive benefits from training in the non-military duties of citizenship. Much of the disruptive thinking in society is done by men physically handicapped, whose point of view toward their fellows is warped or embittered by their own misfortunes. In many cases their philosophy of life would be made more generous by an improvement in their health, and in all cases society owes it to them to provide even more adequate advantages than for those who start life without handicap. Association with their fellow citizens in a national system of training would probably develop in these men at least a greater sense of unity with the nation and an increase of pride in what they themselves could contribute to society as a whole. In a very large number of cases the physical defects which now handicap the youth of our country can easily be corrected, but like illiteracy they can be corrected only if society insists on bringing the individuals under the proper course of training.

Cantonments as Training Schools

The advantage of converting the present training cantonments or equivalent cantonments into permanent training schools is obvious. In our country much sentiment attaches to places of education, and if we are to install in our national life a vast system of training in citizenship, it is in our temper to make of those places where this citizenship is taught, shrines as it were of affection. If men look back with reverence to their college campus or to the school in which they first had some glimpse of the possibilities of life, there is reason why these larger schools should be far more deeply revered in which men from whole sections of the country will be brought together for training in the total

defense of their homes—in the defense of their country against possible enemies on sea or land, and in its defense against disease, ignorance and incompetency.

In these permanent schools much of the equipment now used for purposes of war could be used constantly for purposes of peace. The materials which in times of war must be gathered hurriedly, instruments for engineering, for chemical research, for hospital and sanitary service, would be maintained at the highest point of excellence in the laboratories of these schools. At the American E. F. University at Beaune the laboratories in chemistry, physics, bacteriology, medicine, biology, engineering, fine arts, and music, have been supplied largely out of the resources of the army. On the return of the army to the United States it would be in the highest degree desirable if these laboratories could continue to serve educational purposes, and other laboratories also on a much larger scale, which would then be available at short notice for any emergency of national defense.

An Educational Corps

If it is desirable to maintain for permanent uses the material instruments which our army temporarily collects for war, it is still more desirable to retain for the advantage of our country in times of peace the educational resources which the army must also improvise for war. A part of the duty of the modern army involves scholarship of a high order, knowledge of languages, of history, of international politics and of course of the sciences. A nation which trains for all duties of citizenship, civil as well as military, will find it advantageous to develop in peace times the same scholarship in the same things.

To conduct such schools as are described above, experts would be needed for the teaching of all elementary and secondary school subjects, for the teaching of trades and vocations, and for the teaching of such subjects of college or university grade as the youth in training would be studying at the time. In addition to the experts who would form the nucleus of this educational corps, teachers should be recruited from officers in other branches of army service, who from time to time would thus have an opportunity to expand their own scholarship, and to make a direct contribution to the intellectual and social life of the country. Hitherto it has been only by accident that armies have been permitted to do constructive social work;

after a war with Cuba, for example, the army surgeon is permitted to clean up a fever district. There is no reason why the training of engineers, of surgeons, of officers in every branch of the service, should not at all times be at the disposal of the country.

Equivalent to a School or College Year

It will be noted that in the period of training the proportion of non-military education is approximately equivalent to the amount of time devoted to study yearly in the average high school or college. The time therefore spent in national training would not be in addition to the years required for higher education. The period of training is so situated between high school and college that those young men, the comparatively few of our country, who enjoy a college education, can during the year of service cover the ground of their Freshman work, and can also learn habits of application and of study at the moment when they most need to learn them. In fact, it is not improbable that the months spent in the unusually favorable conditions of regular hours and good health will save time for the average student.

No one familiar with college life is blind to the fact that college students ordinarily waste the greater part of their time; this is true even if one admit that an important benefit of college life is the social contact established with other men of one's age. It is not so generally realized that the average college student is extremely careless in his diet, and on the whole is far below the physical state in which at his age he should be. It has been the hope of college athletics to correct this deplorable condition, but in this hope college athletics have been disappointing. Army life, however, as this war has demonstrated, provides for every soldier a finer system of training than athletes usually submit themselves to in times of peace. A student in perfect health will waste less time in idleness and will make greater progress when he does study than the average college boy as we have known him.

Let Each Boy Select His Studies

Obviously we must teach the illiterate to read and write, and we must teach the foreign-born to use our language. Aside from this obligation, however, an essential feature of national training should be the complete liberty of the man trained to select his studies. The nation should undertake during this year of training to advance him as

far as possible in any course of study which he desires and is equipped to follow. If he looks forward to business, to agriculture, to industry, then his training should help him toward that career. If he expects to attend college, the training should take the place of his Freshman year. If he desires to study art, his training should be in art.

Experience with the educational program in the A. E. F. demonstrates the almost unthought-of potentialities in the American character. Our soldiers apparently have as great native endowments in the arts as the most favored of the Latin races, and a system of national training which should try to develop all the latent powers of the individual would shortly transform our national life. Perhaps the temptation of any such system as we are here suggesting would be to prescribe for the youth of the nation what it should study. This temptation must be absolutely avoided. To yield to it would be to overwhelm the whole country in that form of intellectual Prussianism which now fortunately is found only in the conservative catalogs of some of our universities—those which persist in prescribing subjects which have become dead, or in teaching vital subjects as though they were dead. Beyond this suggested system of national training, the universities should still pursue their work of teaching and research, functioning according to their special facilities. But the nation should undertake to make an inventory of its citizenship in each generation, and to advance every man as far as possible toward the work to which he feels called.

The Cost of National Training

Such a system of training as is here suggested would be very expensive. The items of expense would be the buildings and their upkeep, their equipment, the teachers who would form the framework of the educational corps, and the cost of providing subsistence for the men in training. All these expenses, however, should be charged frankly to national education, and the nation should realize that in one form or another this outlay is unavoidable. We may refuse to combat illiteracy and disease, we may refuse to assume responsibility for the making of the foreign elements in the United States into a unified nation; but in that case we shall pay for the support of poorhouses, of hospitals, of jails, and of police, and we shall pay even more heavily in loss of national health and efficiency. If we are to check the

ignorance, the disease and the discontent which in various ways menace our society, we must be ready to pay as much for education as we are now prepared to invest in international canals or in war bills.

It is a tendency of our country to disguise the cost of education. We remit taxes on educational buildings and on land devoted to educational purposes, and in our book-keeping we distribute the cost of tuition. Yet even when the whole account is shown, it does not appear that we give generously to education, though as a nation we have enjoyed the reputation of great generosity in this field. Until we are ready to pay for popular education, we are not likely to achieve even approximately those minimum results which we sometimes try to make ourselves believe we are reaching. In order to give even one year of sound training to every young man in our country, it will be necessary to assume the cost as a national expense. There should of course be some financial return to the country in the greater efficiency of our citizens and in the decrease of disease and of irresponsibility. But whether or not such a result does follow, the nation should be asked now to face the internal peril of illiteracy and of ignorance as frankly and as generously as it faced the menace of an enemy from abroad.

Results of a Year of Training

A system of training so organized would have obvious advantages. In a general way each training camp would tend to become an educational center. More specifically, the annual inventory of our educational shortcomings would point out for our school system the task to which it should address itself. Undoubtedly the result would be that year by year the schools would send to the training camps generations better prepared; by keeping the election of the courses in the training camps entirely free, we should be able to assist each student to make progress from the point at which his education had left off, and the gradual rise of standard in the courses in this year of training would be the barometer of the intellectual progress of the nation. The year of training would also show which parts of the country were providing inadequate facilities for education, and means could be taken by the national Government to improve the elementary schools in those districts. It is not unlikely that as a result of this national training and

of the statistics which it would make available, the nation would soon be persuaded, as it should have been persuaded long ago, to establish in the federal Government a strong department of education, and that department would collaborate with the army in training for citizenship.

But the most direct advantage would be for the large majority of our young men who at present receive no high school training at all, nor even much elementary education. To insure for them a reasonable start in life would be worth any cost and any effort. In no other way than by national training undertaken as a national expense can this vast body of each generation be sought out in the small town, on the farm, in the overcrowded city, and can be taught the things essential to each individual case. To care for this neglected majority would be really to train our nation.

Perhaps the by-product of such a system of training as is here outlined would be the bringing of the army into a sane relation with society. Through the fear of militarism which possesses the modern world, it has become our custom to support the army and to admire military science only in moments of extreme need. As a result, the soldier in war time receives an adulation perhaps exaggerated and in peace times he is neglected, feared, certainly put to no good use. At this moment, when our army thinks of returning, it is interesting to consider that every man in it hopes to go back to some constructive work for his country, except the professional soldier. He can look forward only to inactivity until the spasmodic need of him arises again. Perhaps society is wise in fearing the army which has nothing to do; it has been stupid, however, in finding no use for the army in time of peace. If we could add to the military functions of our army this constructive kind of national defense, we should be providing a noble and honored career for the man on whom in extreme moments the life of the nation depends. We should be bringing the soldier into constant relation with the social needs of the country he serves, and we should be teaching every youth within our borders that broad conception of citizenship expressed for the Anglo-Saxon race by John Milton, "I call a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices both private and public, of peace and war."

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

A BRITISH DEFENSE OF PRESIDENT WILSON

EVEN those of us who have short memories can easily recall the time when President Wilson was bitterly assailed in the British press because of his refusal to abandon the attitude of neutrality that he had taken at the beginning of the war in 1914. It is interesting, therefore, to-day to find English writers coming to the support of the President when he is charged by his own countrymen with failure to secure at Paris a peace based upon the Fourteen Points. A writer in the *Contemporary Review* (London), Mr. H. Wilson Harris, makes an able defense of the President's course in the treaty negotiations of Paris.

This writer begins with the frank admission that the Fourteen Points are in direct antagonism to the decisions that Germany shall be excluded from a League of Nations open to all Allies and neutrals; that the Sarre Valley shall be severed from Germany against the will of its inhabitants; that Germany shall be disarmed while the Allies give no effective guarantees of disarmament at all; that Germans shall be pronounced incapable of administering colonies even under the League of Nations, while the colonial administration of such countries as Belgium and Portugal is left undisturbed; that the indemnity formula should be so drawn as to rob Germany of any industrial hope or incentive for a generation; and that large areas of German territory shall be held under military occupation for an indefinite period.

Mr. Harris further points to the contrast between the terms of the military conventions between Great Britain and America, respectively, and France and the President's Metropolitan Opera House declaration of September 27th, 1918, that "there can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants or understandings within the general or common family of the League of Nations."

But having granted these inconsistencies, Mr. Harris proceeds:

It is superfluous, indeed, to labor the irreconcilability of the treaty with the Fourteen Points. The thing is palpable and needs no argument. But in tracing out the explanation of the course Mr. Wilson has chosen, or has been compelled, to follow, it is necessary to appreciate the magnitude of the moral victory the President had won before the peace negotiations began at all. The pledges that ended the actual fighting were based on his public declarations. The international standards he had erected were accepted practically without reserve by the whole of the Allied Powers, and it was recognition of the justice of those standards that reconciled Germany to acknowledging defeat and accepting all its consequences. The peace of which in November the world saw the promise was a Wilson peace. Its single basis was the President's *ipse dixit*. Never has such a tribute been paid to an individual statesman as was embodied in the Allied Governments' declaration of their willingness "to make peace with the Government of Germany on the terms of peace laid down in the President's Address to Congress of January 8th, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses."

But the Allies having made Mr. Wilson's principles their own, having pledged themselves to translate those principles into concrete enactments in the Treaty of Peace, the responsibility for an honorable fulfilment of that pledge rested as heavily on each of them as on President Wilson himself. It may be natural, but it is neither logical nor just, to concentrate on the President alone reproaches for failure to make the November undertaking good. To single him out, indeed, as the man whose personal default was responsible for the non-fulfilment of a common engagement is to suggest by implication that his fellow-signatories to the engagement were never seriously expected to fulfil it at all.

At the time of the armistice President Wilson's speeches had been published and read in all the Allied countries and especially in Great Britain. They had been accepted by the Allies as the basis of peace. In that acceptance was implied a complete re-

nunciation of all the old machinery and accompaniments of peace conferences—strategic frontiers, balances of power, transfer of populations against their will, territorial aggrandizement. When, however, the Conference opened at Paris it was quickly found that France was determined to stand for "a strategic frontier on the Rhine, the annexation of peoples for the sake of minerals, and the satisfaction of every Polish claim, reasonable or unreasonable, that would make Poland a more effective counterpoise to Germany in the East," while Mr. Lloyd George's election speeches had committed him to "fantastic indemnities and German colonies and the Kaiser's head on a charger." Also it was soon discovered that both Italy and Japan meant to stand out for the full execution of secret agreements antagonistic to the November pledge.

In these circumstances what could the President do? Mr. Harris reminds us that at Paris he was no chief executive with unlimited powers. He was one man out of a council sometimes of three, sometimes of four, sometimes of five. The other conferees had the advantage of him in their intimate knowledge of European controversies, while as the result of the November elections in the United States, he was not even able to speak for a majority of the American people. In spite of such disabilities, his critics demanded of the President that he should impose the full acceptance of his principles on the Conference. As Mr. Harris points out, to have done that he would have to succeed where every one of his colleagues on the Council of Five has failed.

Every individual member of the Council had at some time to give ground on an issue he considered vital. Of the President alone it is demanded that he should neither have stood for compromise at the outset nor allowed himself to be forced into it by discussion.

That is a perfectly just demand, for when principles are in question every compromise means a moral sacrifice. But what were the alternatives in the situations that arose? Take the provision in the treaty that has excited more hostility to Mr. Wilson in America than any other, the Shantung settlement. The decision there was hopelessly prejudiced from the first. Japan had claimed the succession to all German rights in China. In 1917 Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy had agreed by a secret engagement to support that claim at the peace conference. China, moreover, had accepted the situation in a treaty signed under duress in 1915, and reaffirmed her acceptance in 1918. All this meant a settlement in flat contradiction of the

principles on which the armistice was signed. But at the conference the hands of Mr. Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau and Signor Orlando were tied. Mr. Wilson had to stand for the Fourteen Points alone. Japan made it known that if her claim was rejected she would leave the conference. That might have been bluff. The probability was that it was a perfectly serious menace. What it would have meant was the emancipation of Japan from all the obligations of the treaty and all the restraints attaching to membership in the League of Nations. It would have established an aggressive and embittered enemy within a day's steaming of the seaboard of a defenseless China. It would have dispelled finally all hope of settling by agreement the variety of delicate questions in which Japan is an interested party. Was it better to face that prospect or to accept Japan's surrender of sovereignty over Chinese territory and leave her with extensive economic rights over one of the most important of Chinese provinces, trusting to the League of Nations in the future to set wrong right? President Wilson acquiesced in the compromise. He may have been wrong, but his severest critics must at least congratulate themselves that it did not fall to them to decide such an issue as confronted him.

What other course was open to him? He might, it is true, "have shaken the dust of the Conference off his feet and gone home to advocate the return of America to her traditional isolation." To do so would have been to take the line of least resistance, and President Wilson has placed the whole world under a debt to him by refusing that temptation. On the question of Fiume he did appeal boldly to popular opinion; but his action did not make the smallest impression upon the existing deadlock. Had he appealed to British or French opinion against Mr. Lloyd George or M. Clemenceau, there is no likelihood that he would have met with any greater success.

It is idle to pretend that the present peace squares with his essential principles. The disposal of Shantung is only one flagrant violation of them. But it is, at least a far better peace than it would have been without Mr. Wilson's participation. "That he fought for his ideals even his critics have not questioned. His success was qualified because he was up against too much." But the saving feature of the peace is the League of Nations, and its actual creation is more due to him than to any living man. Mr. Harris criticizes him only on one point—that he must share the responsibility of all the American statesmen for not having given a definite promise that the United States would finance the reconstruction of Europe only on the basis of a Fourteen Points peace.

BOLSHEVISM IN PRACTICE

MR. RAMSAY MacDONALD cannot be counted among the very few critics in these countries who are seriously endeavoring to discover the truth about Bolshevism, but he publishes in the July number of the *Socialist Review* a report "from a specially well-informed Russian, who, though hostile to Bolshevism, can discuss the positive with an objective mind." Mr. MacDonald regards it as noteworthy "not so much for its views on Bolshevism as for the way in which it reveals some of the problems which the Bolsheviks have had to face." And his further note is a warning that has a direct bearing upon the present industrial crisis, which is most important because of its source. "Particularly important for Socialists," says Mr. MacDonald, "is that part of the article which seems to show that the nationalization of industry can come only after a certain sociological and historical preparation"—important, we may add, not only for Socialists but for the world at large at the present moment.

That is the chief lesson which the writer impresses upon his readers. In December, 1917, the Bolsheviks closed private banks in Petrograd and Moscow, and the effect of the edict was quite unexpected by its authors. The wealthiest clients of the banks were able to bribe the Bolshevik Commissaries to get their money out of the banks in spite of all prohibition, paying a percentage that rose from 5 to over 20 per cent. for the privilege of cashing their cheques. Within a year, although the joint stock companies which were subsequently nationalized had paid all their assets to the banks, yet even so the total amount of money in the banks had fallen from 1500 to 600 million rubles. The inference is that the bourgeoisie managed to withdraw at least the greater part of their wealth in spite of the nationalization of the banks.

The second consequence of the nationalization was that the people began to hoard currency notes, and the government had to increase its paper currency to make good the shortage. The estimated deficit on the budget for 1919 amounts to 18,000 out of 30,000 million rubles.

In the spring of 1918 the Bolsheviks began to nationalize commerce and industry in earnest. The first experiment was in the Ural mining industry, but the miners had already begun to reduce their output very

seriously before the experiment was defeated by the advent of the Siberian troops. This in spite of the fact that food conditions in the Urals were comparatively very good, since bread cost only 12 rubles a pood in February, 1918, as against 160 rubles in Petrograd.

After the summer of 1918, all the railways and transport companies, the entire oil industry, and the paper and textile industries had been nationalized. On June 28, 1918, the assets of all joint stock companies with a capital exceeding 200,000 rubles were declared to be national property and placed under state control. "Good information available" to the writer shows that "the general conditions of Russian industry cannot be said to be otherwise than passing into a state of complete ruin." Mr. Larin, the chief initiator of nationalization in Russia, was obliged to confess to the conference of all the Household Soviets at Moscow in January last, that "we must acknowledge that private concerns work better than those taken over by the nation."

The socialization of means of production, the writer continues, presupposes such a highly-developed sense of responsibility and the consciousness of the solidarity of interests of all those who work, that the removal of the profit stimulant would not only decrease the productivity of the work of the workmen and the employees, but would, on the contrary, raise it. In Russia things went the other way round. Communism, in its creative aspects, is quite foreign to the majority of the population. The watchword of the Bolsheviks, "Grab the grabbed," was taken literally as a permit to use the accumulated wealth of the country for consumption. The idea of the necessity of hard collective work for the production of new values was not grasped by the people. The only things workmen and employees strove after was to increase their wages and reduce the hours, and they now, as before, opposed their own interests to the interests of production.

Besides, the habit and desire of getting full pay for spent energy, and the impossibility (owing to the standardization of pay for work), of achieving it in the legal way of individual economic prosperity, induced people to look to illegal profits and developed corruption in an unheard-of degree. Owing to the fact that production, as well as distribution, was being carried on by very complicated organs of state machinery, and that every action in connection with industry and commerce must be submitted to the control of an army of bigger and smaller bureaucrats, the latter converted their public powers into a source of income.

In Russia everything must be bought—from the right of standing in a queue for something, up to the right of buying iron or fuel for one's fac-

tory, independently of whether the factory is nationalized or not. No doubt a few idealists among the Bolsheviks are beyond suspicion, but the colossal army of those who stuck to them, without believing in them, do nothing but steal public property. It would, however, be short-sighted-

ness to ascribe this to some occasional occurrence or to bad selection on the part of the Bolshevik leaders. The fact is a logical consequence of the suppression of private interests in a society which was absolutely unprepared for such an experiment.

JAPAN'S ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN SHANTUNG

A STATEMENT of Japanese expectations and intentions in Shantung is contributed to *Asia*, the journal of the American Asiatic Association, for September, by the well-known Japanese writer, K. K. Kawakami.

In the first part of his article Mr. Kawakami refers to the conditions under which Japan agreed with China in May, 1915, to return the territory of Kiaochou. These conditions were as follows:

1. Opening of the whole of Kiaochou as a commercial port;
2. Establishment of a Japanese settlement in the locality to be designated by the Japanese Government;
3. Establishment, if desired by the Powers, of an international settlement;
4. Arrangements to be made, before the return of the said territory is effected, between the Japanese and Chinese Governments, with respect to the disposal of German public establishments and properties and with regard to the other conditions and procedures.

The second of these conditions, it is admitted by Mr. Kawakami, is likely to invite criticism. He maintains, however, that by "Japanese settlement" Japan does not mean an exclusive settlement to be utilized by her nationals only. If such a settlement is established, Japan will invite and allow any foreigner to reside or conduct business therein, provided such foreigners are willing to observe Japanese laws. Considering what has been done by other foreign nations in other foreign ports such as Tientsin, Hankow, and Shanghai, this writer can see no reason why Japan should not establish a Japanese settlement in Kiaochou. Still he thinks that Japan might well waive this privilege and content herself with the establishment of an international settlement. Such a settlement is now maintained in Shanghai by all the leading nations, excepting France. Great Britain, having the greatest interests in that part of China, preponderates in the council of administration,

and if Japan agrees to waive her right to open a Japanese settlement in Kiaochou Mr. Kawakami holds that in any common or international settlement to be established Japan should have a position analogous to that of England in the administrative council at Shanghai.

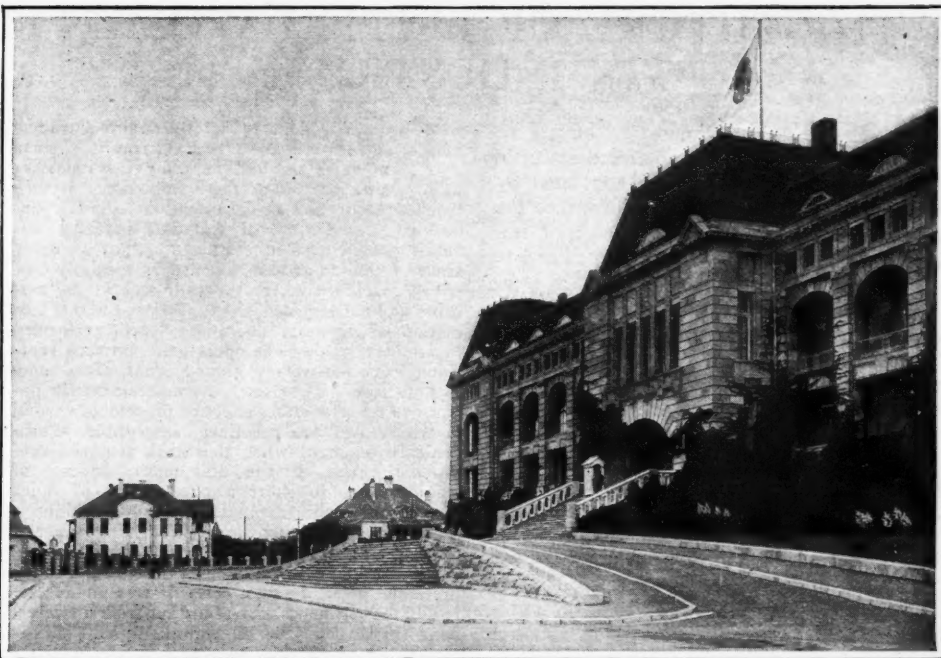
As to the mining rights that Japan has acquired as a result of the Peace Treaty Mr. Kawakami says:

In seeking mining concessions in Shantung or other parts of China, Japan is actuated by dictates of self-preservation. The teeming millions of Nippon, confined within her own narrow precincts, and forbidden, by the mandates of western powers, to emigrate to any of the territories occupied or controlled by them, must perforce find a field of activity within their own sphere. With this in view Japan is eager to convert herself into a great industrial and commercial country. If she fails in this endeavor, she knows that her progress must cease from congestion, stagnation, and inanition. To understand this point of view it is necessary to know something of the population question with which Japan has been grappling.

During the past half century Japan's population has been increasing at the rate of 400,000 a year. Where there were 33,000,000 Japanese fifty years ago, there are to-day about 53,000,000. As the total area of Japan proper is about 148,756 square miles, the density of population is about 356 per square mile. If we leave out of consideration Hokkaido, the northern island, the density increases to 451 per square mile.

We have seen that during the past five decades Japan's population has increased by 20,000,000. As against this increase, Japan has sent out but 2,900,000 emigrants to various countries as follows: Hokkaido (northern island of Japan proper), 2,000,000; Formosa (southern island of Japan), 100,000; Korea, 300,000; Manchuria, 309,981; Hawaii, 96,749; continental United States, 101,000; China, South America and other countries combined, 40,000.

It may be safely said that all European countries at one stage or another of their national development have alleviated the congestion of population at home by encouraging emigration. But Japan, one of the most crowded countries in the world, is compelled to solve the same question without sending emigrants to any of those countries which offer the greatest opportunities to men with modest means. True, some European countries are even more densely populated than



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GERMAN GOVERNMENT BUILDING AT TSING-TAO, ON WHICH IS FLYING THE JAPANESE FLAG

Japan, but these countries, in addition to the advantage of unrestricted emigration, have each acquired extensive colonies, which either afford room for a large population, or store abundant natural resources to be utilized for the advancement of industries at home. On the other hand, Japan has no colonial land to speak of. Such territories as Korea or Formosa cannot be regarded as colonies, for they are already thickly populated—having 187 inhabitants to the square mile.

Under these circumstances Japan must seek relief from the distressing congestion of population in methods other than emigration or colonial expansion. Her only way out lies in her industrial and commercial expansion. That is why she is anxious to build up industry at home and extend commerce abroad. But in order to become a foremost industrial nation Japan must have iron and coal, two essentials of modern industry. Unfortunately, Japan's home territory has little of either in store. The volume of iron ores produced at home is but a fraction of what Japan actually consumes. Of coal she has a considerable output, but none that is available for coking purposes. Without coke the steel industry is impossible. China is the country to which Japan must logically and naturally look for the supply of iron ores and coking coal. That is why Japan is anxious to secure mining concessions in China, before China's mines and collieries, unutilized by herself, will be all but mortgaged to other nations—nations which have already secured vast colonies in different parts of the world, and which have plenty of raw materials and mineral supplies in their own territories.

Japan's output of ores, including that of Korea,

amounts only to some 324,000 tons, equivalent to 160,000 tons in pig iron. As against this small output, Japan consumed in 1917, 1,300,000 tons of steel and pig iron.

Before the war this deficiency was partly supplied by steel imported from England and Belgium. When the war cut off this source of supply Japan turned to the United States for relief. For three years—from the fall of 1914 and to the summer of 1917—Japan's shipyards and iron works were enabled to work almost entirely with material furnished by steel mills in America. But in July, 1917, the United States, too, declared an embargo upon steel, and the activities of Japanese shipyards and iron works came suddenly to a halt. At that moment Japan had 300,000 tons of ships in course of construction at various yards. The American embargo virtually stopped work on all such ships. Never before did Japan realize so keenly as on that occasion the precarious nature of her industrial structure, depending upon foreign countries for the supply of steel.

The American embargo intensified Japan's national desire, long uppermost in the minds of her industrial leaders, for the independence of her steel industry from foreign mills. That desire soon became a national slogan. And yet how is Japan to translate that slogan into reality? She has but scanty supply of ores at home. What she is at present getting from China and Manchuria is far from commensurate with her demand. Unless Japan succeeds in entering into a satisfactory agreement with China for the further development of China's iron resources, her industrial structure will never be placed upon a secure foundation.

THE FUTURE OF BRITISH WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

ONE of the most important official reports that has been published since the war is that of the committee appointed by the British War Cabinet to inquire into the position of women in industry; and no member of the committee was so well qualified to speak from practical experience as Sir Lynden Macassey, K. C., who had gained unique experience as Chairman of the National Tribunal of Women's Wages, and also of the Clyde Dilution Committee. To the *Quarterly Review* (July) he contributes a comprehensive summary of his general conclusions from a long acquaintance with the problems of trade-union organization. Speaking with special knowledge from a long record of work in touch with both men and women's trade unions, he deprecates the "prejudice and fanaticism" which the men's unions habitually display in their determination to keep women from their own special fields of labor.

The truth is that the men and their trade unions have been signally successful in staking out their claim to all the best and most highly remunerated classes of work. Around these they have erected impenetrable barriers against the entry of women.

Until the war came and produced a new demand for women's labor that sent up the number of women employed in industry alone from 2,180,000 in July, 1914, to 2,970,000 four years later, the proportion of the female population employed in industry had remained stationary, and in fact showed a decline in comparison with the number of men employed. The chief causes were that women were untrained, learning what they did know from one another and not through a proper apprenticeship, and that they were almost invariably employed in sweated industries and amid the worst possible surroundings. But the war has turned tens of thousands of women into highly skilled workers, and has introduced a vast improvement in the conditions under which they are required to work. How does their work compare with that of men, as shown during the war? Sir Lynden summarizes the general experience as follows:

On work involving severe physical effort or prolonged strain, or exposure to exhausting conditions, women in a given time did less work than men. On all-round skilled and jobbing

work ordinarily done by a fully qualified tradesman, women were much less efficient than men. . . . As quick as, and in many cases quicker than youths put on at the same time, women learned to do skilled jobs (on the Clyde) efficiently. The feature of war-time industry was "mass production"—a sustained output of many kinds of similar articles, effected by specially contrived machines where the skill was in the machine and not required of the worker, or by a succession of separate operations, each performed by an adept at that one operation. On such repetition work the women proved equal, often superior, to men. They seemed temperamentally immune to the deadening effect of monotonous work, to which men are peculiarly susceptible. Paradoxically enough, when the work required constant alertness, a sure deft touch, delicacy of manipulation, in short a combination of quick intelligence and manual dexterity within a limited ambit, women were invariably superior to men.

On the other hand, women lost rather more time than men. In most cases, it was undoubtedly due to long hours. A reduction from a twelve-hour working day to an eight-hour shift almost always improved time keeping in the case of the women workers.

"Three master-principles" emerge from Sir Lynden's study of women's work:

First, women should always be entitled to such employment as is fully commensurate with their economic attributes and industrial qualifications. This concedes what is commonly called "equality of opportunity," repudiates the sex-prejudice by which women workers have been so unjustly handicapped, and at the same time discourages the extravagant claims of certain sections of women that all kinds of artificial grades should be introduced into industry merely to assist the entrance of women.

Secondly, the work at which, and the conditions under which, they are employed must be compatible physiologically and psychologically with their sex peculiarities.

Thirdly, women must not be allowed to undercut and displace men. As things are to-day, a woman of efficiency equal to a man, if obtainable—as she is in many cases—can always be secured, especially in unorganized trades, for substantially less remuneration than the man. It is imperative that this should not take place.

The future prosperity of the nation depends absolutely on increased production; and it is common sense that every family will be infinitely better off by finding useful employment for its women as well as its men; and women will in most cases be far more profitably employed, for everyone concerned, in doing productive work than in spending their days at household duties

which can be greatly reduced by labor-saving devices.

Women's future sphere in industry should comprise, primarily, the trades and work which are to-day women's trades, and women's work in composite trades. There must be absorption of numerous new women operatives, and that will entail modernization and up-to-date equipment of "women's shops," some of which are even yet utterly incapable of efficiency.

It ought to include also many new trades and processes such as are bound to spring into being out of mechanical invention and improved methods of research. Many industries in an embryonic condition to-day have not been "demarcated," and women ought to be free to enter them.

Lastly, it ought to embrace a very substantial admission into men's trades or men's work in composite trades and on a definite economic basis. The chief barrier is the prejudice of men. It only awaits a full blast of production.

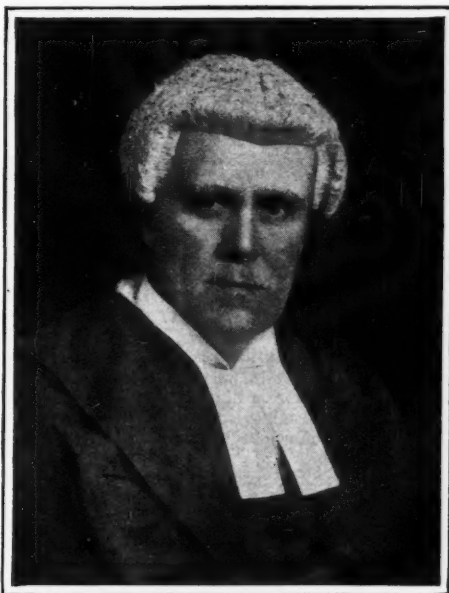
IN DEFENSE OF THE BRITISH COAL COMMISSION

MR. R. H. TAWNEY, a young professor of the School of Economics, who served as one of the miners' representatives on the British Coal Commission, writes in defense of coal nationalization with a spirit of defiant conviction and a sureness of touch that compel admiration in the August *Contemporary Review*.

He quotes the evidence of Sir Richard Redmayne, the principal expert witness for the government, with great force, and shows that even Sir Arthur Duckham was impelled to write after hearing all the evidence given before the commission, that "the working of over 3000 collieries by more than 1500 separate interests has resulted in heavy losses of coal and inefficient working, and unnecessary difficulties in the mining of coal."

Mr. Tawney insists that the policy of those who urge unification of the mining industry cannot reasonably be dismissed as doctrinaire (in spite of Lord Gainford's unmitigated scorn) since almost every industry has had recourse, in its own interests, to a greater or less degree of amalgamation. Nor does unified control necessarily imply centralized control. Mr. Tawney makes a strong case for it on the ground that by unified control (under national direction) not only could important economies be effected, but coal could be sold considerably cheaper as a result of pooling the total profits of the various collieries, and so enable the poorer mines to pay their way while keeping the profits of those which are more fortunate within reasonable limits. Citing the statistics of profits earned during the summer quarter of 1918, he argues:

While eight per cent. of the output was produced at a loss, and another eight per cent. at a profit of less than 1s. per ton, more than half of it was yielding a profit per ton of 3s. and over, and more than a quarter of it a profit of 5s. and



SIR JOHN SANKEY, HEAD OF THE BRITISH COAL COMMISSION

upwards. In these circumstances it is obvious that any rise in price which levels up the profits of the poorer collieries must at the same time still further increase the profits of those which are already highly prosperous. That result, absurd and extravagant as it is from the point of view of the public, is what occurs whenever (for example) any increase in demand sends up the price of coal. . . . Sir A. Lowes Dickinson told the commission it would not have been necessary to put up prices (when the increase of 2s. 6d. per ton was added by the Coal Controller) in June, 1918. In the absence of any system of financial unification, every colliery above the level of those who are only just paying their way receives a surplus which is due to the possession of some special advantage, so that every rise in price increases that surplus still further.

Nor is this purely technical and demonstrable argument in favor of unification of

control the only reason why the mines should be nationalized.

The greatest economic loss incidental to British industry as a whole is the dissatisfaction which at present pervades almost all classes of

workers. Credit is the foundation of production. But credit in the last resort is a matter of psychology, and the workman has his psychology as well as the capitalist. If confidence is necessary to the investment of capital, it is no less necessary to the effective performance of personal services.

THE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

UNDER the title of "Mountains and Their Riches," Mr. F. C. Wade, Agent-General for British Columbia, contributes an interesting article on that country to the *Empire Review* for July. The opening of the Panama Canal brought British Columbia to within 8892 nautical miles of Liverpool, instead of 14,558 miles by the former Cape Horn route. "What this means to British Columbia," writes Mr. Wade, "can scarcely be conjectured."

The territory is a "sea of mountains," and the resources of these are here summarized in a brief review. "These mountains, according to the Geological Survey, contain seventy-five billion metric tons of coal, and so far this great reservoir of energy has only been tapped to the extent of fourteen million tons. This great mass, incalculable almost in its solid content, lies dormant awaiting the utilization of the Panama Canal and the coming trade of the Pacific Ocean. These same mountains have produced lode gold

to the value of nearly ninety-seven millions of dollars; silver over fifty-three millions; lead over thirty-nine millions; copper over one hundred and thirty millions (more than twenty-five per cent. in the last two years); zinc over ten millions; besides molybdenum, tungsten, chrome, etc., not to mention building stone, cement, and pottery, about twenty-eight millions more. Moreover mountains, whose snow caps cool and precipitate the moist sea-breeze of the Pacific Ocean, mean water-power; and within a radius of a hundred miles of Vancouver, the chief industrial city, water representing 750,000 horsepower, of which 150,000 is developed, is available. These mountain chains are covered with timber to the value of 350,000,000,000 to 400,000,000,000 broad feet, of which supply the Imperial Government has just purchased over 100,000,000 feet. Grain and fruit show a proportionately prolific yield. Dairying is fast becoming an important industry, and it is hoped that shipbuilding will rapidly increase. Some months ago \$20,000,000 worth of steel and wooden vessels were being built in the Province, and recently forty ships were ordered by France alone."



ONE OF THE MANY IMPORTANT WATER POWER SITES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
(A scene near Nelson)

CARDINAL MERCIER, ONE OF THE HEROIC FIGURES OF THE WAR

THE great Belgian prelate, Cardinal Mercier, is now in the United States, and before his return to Europe he will have been seen and greeted by thousands of Americans of every faith who for years have admired his burning patriotism and revered his personal dignity and strength.

For those who are not so fortunate as to see the Cardinal during his visit to our shores there are several passages in Minister Brand Whitlock's "Belgium, a Personal Narrative" (Appleton), which together give an admirable portrait of the man.

Only a few weeks after the attempt of the German authorities to suppress the Cardinal's famous New Year's Pastoral of 1915 the Cardinal himself called upon Mr. Whitlock to offer his thanks for what America had done for Belgium. This is our Minister's description of the Cardinal:

He entered, advanced, tall and strong and spare, in the long black soutane with the red piping and the sash, not with the stately, measured pace that one associates with the red hat, but with long, quick strides, kicking out with impatience the skirt of his soutane before him as he walked, as though it impeded his movements. He was impressive in his great height and he bent slightly forward with an effect of swooping on, like an avenging justice. But his hand was outthrust, and in his mobile countenance and kindly eyes there was a smile, as of sweetness and light, that illuminated the long, lean visage.

When he had laid off the low black beaver hat, with its cord and tassels of red and gold, and seated himself in one of the Government's ugly leather chairs, he adjusted the little red calotte that covered the poll whereon the grey hair had long been thinning, drew off his red gloves and as he sat his long fingers played for an instant with a gold pectoral cross and chain that hung before him, then found a pair of common steel-rimmed eye-glasses and played with them instead. The detail seemed to be expressive of the utter simplicity of the man in all that concerned him personally; for if, in all that pertained to his high office as a prince of the Church, he was correct, punctilious even, in all purely personal ways he was as simple, as unpretentious, as modest as one of those rugged primeval natures to which one instantly compared him.

His hands were large and powerful and of the weathered aspect of his face. It was a countenance full of serene light, with little of the typically ecclesiastical about it; a high brow, a long nose, lean cheeks, strong jaw and a large mobile mouth, humorous and sensitive—the mouth of the orator, but with thin lips that could close in impenetrable silence. The eyes were blue, and they twinkled with a lively intelligence and kindly

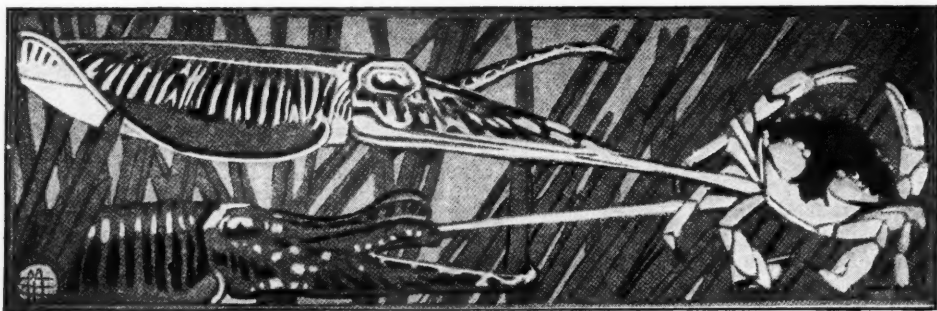
humor. Perhaps I could do no better, in the effort to give some impression of him, than to say that, had it not been for those touches of red in his black garb, he would have recalled some tall, gaunt, simple, affectionate Irish priest, whose life was passed in obscure toil among the poor, in humble homes, amid lowly lives whose every care and preoccupation he knew and sympathized with, going about at night alone in all weathers, unsparing of himself, visiting the sick and the imprisoned, forgetting to eat, accustomed to long weary vigils, and of an independence that needed none of the reliances or approvals of this earth.

There was something primal, original about him, a man out of the people, yet above them—one of those rare and lofty personalities who give the common man hope because they are like him, and yet better, greater than he, and so create in him new aspirations and higher hopes because they demonstrate in their sufficient selves what a common man may become if only he have the will by devotion, by abnegation, by sacrifice, and by love. In his mere presence one felt all little things shrivel up, and wondered why small annoyances should fret and irritate; and when he had gone the impalpable influences of his lofty spirit hung for hours about one in the air.

All of which is confirmed by Dr. Powell elsewhere in this REVIEW, as well as by the Cardinal's photographs (see pages 376 and 377).

A few days before the American Minister left Brussels because of the impending outbreak of war between Germany and the United States Cardinal Mercier made a farewell call at the embassy. He spoke appreciatively of what America and her Minister had done for Belgium and said that Belgium had lost "her stay and support." Mr. Whitlock sought to lead his thoughts in another direction:

I told him that after the war he would have to make a voyage to America, where he was so much loved and admired, and when I related how Protestant clergymen and Jewish rabbis had united with the priests of his own faith to praise his courage and to extol his patriotism, he looked at me in the astonishment that was the product of his modesty. . . . I wish more than all that I might give some sense of the charm and puissance of his personality. The effect of his visit was most uplifting. He is one of those great beings that, in a world crowded with little men, lift themselves far above the mass and by the sheer force of moral grandeur radiate sweetness and light. In his presence all cares, all petty feelings, and all haunting fears fade away; one is before eternal verities, and we felt that night as though we had had a prophet in the house. Did not our hearts burn within us as he talked with us by the way?



A SUBMARINE ATTACK AS DEPICTED BY THE FRENCH ARTIST, MATHURIN MÉHEUT

A FRENCH NATURALIST-PAINTER OF SUBMARINE LIFE

THE art of the French painter Mathurin Méheut is in a double sense a novelty. Most bizarre deviations from the beaten pictorial track have in common the characteristic of taking liberties with the gross material facts of nature. Individually novel, collectively they are a sort of perpetual side-show of the art gallery which we accept as a matter of course. It is a rarer order of novelty that sticks to untransmogrified facts, but so chooses and assort them that they produce a powerful impression of unreality. Méheut has achieved this *tour de force* by seeking his subjects in the depths of the sea.

Here is an almost virgin field for the painter, the boundless possibilities of which must have impressed many a visitor to the natural history museums in which specimens of marine life are exhibited. Nowhere else has nature produced such extravaganzas of form and color as in the sea.

Some facts about the French artist's work and several of his pictures are presented in an article by René Merle in *La Nature* (Paris). An exhibit of Méheut's pictures at the Louvre, in 1914, produced a great sensation. The pictures were reproduced in book form the same year, with text by M. P. Verneuil and a preface by Yves Delage.

Decorative art, says M. Merle, has often utilized the forms and colors of marine life, but has usually confined itself to a few familiar plants and animals. Méheut, by dint of long personal observation, has opened up a new world. This conscientious artist spent two whole years at the marine biological station of Roscoff, where, in association with scientific investigators, he pur-

sued minute and serious studies in his chosen field. Here he made no fewer than four thousand sketches and paintings. Thus his work is a unique combination of art and science. He has conventionalized his subjects to only a slight degree or not at all. It is astonishing how many creatures of the sea present forms exactly adapted for reproducing as decorative *motifs*. "Here," as M. Merle remarks, "are ornaments ready-made—already conventionalized—mingling with regularity in the repetition of the same *motif* a certain variety which is the characteristic of living beings." One species furnishes an admirable model for an *appliqué* design in metalwork; another for an electrolier or chandelier; a third for the head of a baluster.

From the scientific point of view some of this artist's sketches are said to be almost unrivaled in the accuracy with which they present episodes in the life of the sea—veritable marine dramas, such as a cuttlefish lying in wait for crabs and fishes, or an octopus attacked by conger-eels.

But the pictures speak best for themselves. Only it is a pity we cannot reproduce the colors, "vivid, violent, clashing and harmonious at the same time." We read of lobsters of deep Prussian blue, blue-violet mussels, lumpfish red and violet "like an assembly of bishops," grass green and red, blue and yellow, making a wonderful play of color over the neutral-tinted sea-bottom, and skates "bearing on their back a mosaic richer and more delicate in tone than the most beautiful oriental rugs."

Truly a remarkable appeal to the eye and the intellect at one and the same time!

THE COMING SUPERSTATE

IN *La Revue de Paris*, with a clear but condensed style and close reasoning, M. Bernard Lavergne devotes thirty pages to "The Society of Nations and the Peace Conference." He classifies all unions of nations under four types: (1) The mere political alliance, primarily for mutual defense or the general safety, such as has been familiar since the dawn of history; in fact, such an alliance has just won the world-war. (2) A purely judicial alliance, or agreement to arbitrate some or all disputed questions, between sovereign states. After arousing high hopes of pacifists, the world over, in the Hague conferences, this form of union made grievous shipwreck, or rather disappeared altogether, in the summer of 1914, when no one even looked to The Hague for peace. (3) A federal league, or society, uniting the two activities just described, but leaving intact the sovereignty and independence of each member. Such is the organism just planned in Paris. It can act as a unit only on unanimous vote of the several prime ministers or their representatives. It interests the writer vitally only as a step forward, of transition toward a living reality. The rejected French plan is alluded to as a far more advanced measure.

Finally must appear (4) "An international union with a legislative body and an executive power, both elective and autonomous, deciding on action by majority vote." This is "the solid, efficient superstate, which the Society of Nations is to become, when the united peoples delegate to it their own executive power—a part of their sovereignty."

All these may exist simultaneously. Even Germany and Hungary might be admitted to a reconstituted judicial alliance for arbitration centered again at The Hague. The federal league plan will doubtless be accepted at least by the chief Allies and also by many neutral states. It should not be at present too extended. Indeed the author frankly regrets that feudal Japan and China, and unstable Brazil, all so remote in location and character, have been admitted already. Lastly, the author believes, the time is ripe for a very small group of true and great democracies to form the nucleus of the superstate, that may later become the world-state, and could even now insure world-peace for a half century to come.

Here is quoted, with disapproval, the argument that on the judge and the policeman rests all law and order within the present state, and that the superstate must have these two forces in far greater measure. The true power behind both is identified as the popular will, expressed through legislative assembly and elected executives.

The courts are but interpreters of the written law, or of the body of precedents and traditions. Law never, even for a moment, attains to perfect equity between individuals and classes; and if it ever did, the ceaseless change in all economic and social relations would quickly make it unbearably unjust. All internal history of modern states is a tale of progressive reform, in the interest of the masses, as against traditional privilege. That reform, or revolution, cannot be checked, but only given orderly and peaceful forms of expression. That is done, in the most advanced and intelligent democratic states, by legislatures.

As between nations it has not been accomplished at all. Hence constant wars, long after the duel and the vendetta have ceased. The one supreme problem is to escape war by securing peaceful justice. Until some such means is provided, wars will be constant, being often, indeed, both justified and beneficent. How else could the national unity of Poles and Northern Slavs, the restoration of conquered Rumanians, Jugoslavs, etc., to longed-for union with their free brothers, ever have been brought about? Even a shameless debtor-nation can be restrained only by force from such repudiation as Turkey has attempted numberless times. Backward races must permit, under just conditions, the exploiting of coal-veins and other natural wealth. But who shall decide what conditions are "equitable"?

There are, also, two mighty forces already active in international life, which demand intelligent guidance in the interests of all, or at least a due consideration of the most imperative necessities. They are Supply and Demand; the total surplus output from human effort, and the world-wide needs for whatever commodities are not locally produced. There must be some limit to international hoarding and profiteering. (At such points the writer frankly reveals that the absolute power of democratic majorities is far from ideal government, but

nothing else is available nor in prospect.) The one hope of anything like cosmic order out of chaos, indeed for the rescue of civilization, is the growth of the democratic superstate, with effective legislative debate and decisions, carried out by elected executives. Behind these the effective force will be the entire nations thus interlinked.

Such as it nows appears, the League is a sincere but as yet very timid effort at progress in

international order. It seems to be precious less for what it is than for the seed it has sown in the consciousness of the nations. . . . Why could not a superstate be formed by France, England, the United States and our European allies, which would be the heart, the life-center, of the League? Already our three parliaments are about to vote on a Franco-Anglo-American treaty of alliance. This action of elective bodies, this agreement among peoples that have reached the same stage of democracy, marks a decisive step forward toward that larger grouping of States to which the future belongs.

GABRIEL HANOTAUX ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

AT the close of an elaborate study—appearing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*—of the Treaty of Peace, now occupying the attention of the world, Gabriel Hanotaux, the distinguished French statesman and historian, discusses the League of Nations, giving the point of view of various countries regarding it, and predicting what may be expected from it.

As far back as 1907, says the writer, he had prayed for a League of Nations. In 1916 he had insistently urged its creation as a practical outcome of the war.

Such an aspiration seemed premature at

the time. But the advocates of a League were backed up by public opinion to an unexpected extent. The word once launched, the dikes were opened. After the failure of autocracy the democracies meant to take affairs in their own hands.

To sum up the reasons for the movement:

First and foremost: the old complaint of humanity against war; the feeling that this war was too cruel not to be the last. Thanks to modern publicity, its origin was soon determined; the hour had struck to throw light in obscure corners, so that like horrors could not recur. The fact, too, was clearly realized that a just cause alone could not defend a nation; with modern methods a determined bandit could surprise his victim before the latter could arise and arm. Furthermore, great progress had already been made in international agreements, concerning money, postal service, transportation, etc. Lastly, the conviction had been reached that disagreements could be discussed; that through publicity the most complex problems can be better solved than by augurs and qualified pontiffs. In a word, public opinion, "Queen of the world," wished to take the government of the world in its hands. This decision once reached, the cabinets had but to follow suit. However, they did not all react in a like manner.

American Opinion.—President Wilson was from the first (that is, from 1916) one of the most ardent advocates of a League of Nations. His idea of such a League became with time more clearly defined. In his address to the Senate, Jan. 22, 1917, he declared that it may be laid down as a principle that peace should be accompanied by a well defined collective force which will render the recurrence of a catastrophe like



GABRIEL HANOTAUX
(Former French Minister of Foreign Affairs)

the great war virtually impossible. This vision of a better future is the more remarkable in a statesman whose country by tradition, by faith in its strength and isolation has perhaps the gravest reasons for not seeking a union outside of that within its own borders. Despite this general American feeling of a sort of "continental insularity," President Wilson acted with an increasing energy, and submitted the project at once on his arrival in Europe, speaking of it as his own.

English Opinion.—The English more than any other government recognizes the force of public opinion and best knows both to obey and guide it. No statesman of eminence had launched the idea of a League before the close of 1916. Coolly received at first, public opinion soon pronounced in its favor. It was echoed in a proposition of Lord Bryce aimed at preventing future wars. Since then the leading idea of English public men is to establish a *moratorium* of conflicts, to retard the outbreak of hostilities.

Two conceptions of a League, in their extreme, have come to view: Senator Lodge with his demand that the United States should not bind itself to permanent international action, and that of General Smuts for a superstate whose mission it would be to govern, at least temporarily, the greater part of Europe.

The Opinion of France.—As things were, the opinion of France was most important; she could turn the scales. A League, ardently advocated by some, was as energetically opposed by others who considered it chimerical. Thus the opportunity of stamping the covenant with the French spirit—tact, equity, sound sense—was lost: France, the most exposed among the great powers to aggression, was the most interested in a lasting system of protection against war: the people felt that profoundly, but the government hesitated—in a word, it relegated the League to the domain of the ideal. Léon Bourgeois, who distinguished himself so brilliantly at the Hague Convention, was the French delegate to the League Conference; he faced a project whose main lines had been fixed—a compound of English and American views. His chief aim was to empower the League to control the armaments of the powers, but it was rejected.

Germany and the League.—President Wilson and the English publicists have rightly reiterated that the League has no

Oct. 7



NOT ROOM FOR BOTH
From the Chronicle (San Francisco)

chance of success unless all the peoples are some day to be united into a *single force*.

Germany since her defeat has been ardently desirous to form part of the League; but as long as she shall not have given positive proofs of her sincere adhesion not alone to democratic principles but to the fraternal aims of the League, she should be excluded from it.

What may be expected of the League.—The League will, of course, not function until the treaties have been ratified. It will be the chief instrument of that "collective work of the Nations" whence real peace will spring.

As to the two opposing systems, the superstate or a simple council of deliberation and surveillance, the writer declares himself in favor of the latter. The present disordered state of Europe, the weakness of the newly-created nations, may readily account for General Smuts's ideas. "But despite all," the writer says, "it is better, in my opinion, to let them work out their own salvation—while aiding them in their efforts. The worst inertia is that which counts upon others; all burdens are heavy, even those imposed by kindness. Nations must act in order to exist. . . . The founders of the League of Nations have thus, to my mind, shown great wisdom in avoiding the appearance of a superstate. . . ."

The Treaty of June 28 has left a united Germany; that is its weakness. It has established a League of Nations: that is its strength. The alliance of the great nations maintains the executive power of the victory gained; it is the bridge enabling us to attain to a new order.

FACTS AND FALLACIES CONCERNING LIVING CONDITIONS IN AMERICA

DURING the past two years the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics has been conducting a country-wide investigation of the cost of living in America. More than 300 agents of the Bureau have secured from housewives statements of their expenditures for an entire year, and in many cases detailed daily expense accounts have been obtained for periods of five weeks and upward. In this manner nearly 13,000 family schedules were collected in 71 large and 26 small towns for incomes ranging from less than \$900 to more than \$2500 per family. The data are now being tabulated.

On the basis of this information, Mr. Royal Meeker, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, undertakes in the *Monthly Labor Review* (Washington) to answer the question, "What is the American standard of living?" Reference is constantly made in the press and in public utterances to this assumed "standard," but apparently no serious attempt has heretofore been made to analyze it.

Before setting down some of the more detailed facts ascertained by the writer, it will be instructive to quote the general conclusions at which he arrives. "From the data thus far worked up," he says, "it is apparent that there is no such thing as the American standard of living in the sense of a very superior standard giving all the necessities, many of the comforts, and a goodly supply of the luxuries of life.

On the contrary, we find that there are as many different standards as there are different incomes and families of different sizes. In the lower income groups the living conditions are hard indeed. The incomes of the lower paid workers must be increased and the cost of food, clothing and housing must be lowered to enable these families to meet the higher costs of existence. Social legislation is needed to give them better and cheaper food, clothing, houses, medical treatment, and insurance. Even in the higher income groups conditions are not so easy as they are frequently pictured to us. Let us not be fooled by the cry that the American standard of living is the highest in the world. Let us make the minimum living standard in America one that will support life in decency and health.

One of the first fallacies that Commissioner Meeker dispels is the prevalent idea that the average American family suffers from overfeeding. Food is discussed in

terms of calories and with due regard to a well-balanced diet. He says:

The family food budgets are now being analyzed. We can say with confidence that it requires to-day an expenditure of from 50 to 60 cents per man per day for food to secure a well-balanced diet sufficient in the number of calories and in variety. This means that American families consisting of husband, wife, and three children below the age of 15 years, living in large and medium-sized cities must spend about \$610 per annum for food to keep themselves properly nourished for health and efficiency. This expenditure for food goes with incomes of from \$1800 to \$1850, so we may say that American families on the average are not fully nourished until their yearly income reaches \$1800. These figures do not indicate that our people are to-day suffering from eating too much meat, or even too much of other foods not so expensive. The average income falls well below \$1600.

Conclusions must not be too hastily drawn from these figures. They do not mean that our working population is dying of slow starvation; nothing of the sort. But they do indicate that the workers of America are obliged to live on a diet too restricted and monotonous for the maintenance of as high a degree of efficiency and health as ought to be maintained as a reasonable minimum. I am of the opinion that the most efficacious remedy is not higher wages, but rather improved systems for distributing and marketing foodstuffs and the education of housekeepers in the art of keeping house, with emphasis on diets. House-keeping is not exactly a lost art. It is one of the arts that has not yet been completely found.

The data concerning expenditures for clothing do not bear out the charge so frequently made that the American workingman and his family are extravagantly dressed. In the "modal" (most frequent) income group, \$1350, the average clothing expenditure per adult male is not more than \$90. At existing prices, this does not leave much room for extravagance. Mr. Meeker gives due weight to the fact that clothes are intended for adornment as well as protection, and that, in the present state of human society, the demands of fashion cannot be ignored in discussing the clothing requirements of the working classes.

It is interesting to note that the wives spend less for clothes than husbands until we reach the higher incomes, about \$1800 per year. It is also of interest that when economies are necessary they are made largely at the expense of the wife's wardrobe. The first baby makes a cut in the mother's clothes money and every addition to the family cuts deeper into this item. It is scarcely

fair to say that American wives prefer clothes and upholstered parlor furniture to children. It costs money, pain, and sacrifice to bear and rear children, however, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics' study shows with startling vividness the extent to which the mother is obliged to sacrifice her house and her personal adornment to her children.

In the matter of housing, it appears that there is little overcrowding in American workingmen's families. Whether in other respects housing conditions are satisfactory is hardly brought out in this study. The amount spent for rent varied from \$105 per annum for the lowest income group, in Fall River, Mass., to \$355 per annum for the highest income group, reported from New York City.

Light and fuel seem to be generally sufficient. The writer discusses at some length the provisions for medical attention and the question of insurance. Both are in a highly unsatisfactory state, owing to the economic arrangements of the country at large, concerning remedies for which Mr. Meeker

makes some pertinent suggestions. He declares that

The sickness and physical deficiencies revealed by the selective draft have happily demolished forever the carefully fostered fallacy that the American workman is so well paid, so well nourished, housed, and clothed, and so intelligent that he needs nothing in addition to the existing agencies to look after his exuberant good health. The quantitative consumption of health-giving and health-maintaining services in the average American family is certainly very much below what is necessary to attain and maintain reasonably good health. It is very clear that the medical profession and the hospitals must be more completely and effectively organized and directed for the purpose of improving the health of the community. Until this is done it is scarcely possible for the average American family to buy the required amount of health service to keep health and efficiency up to a reasonable standard.

Under the head of amusements we are told that "expenditures for movies increase consistently with increasing income," and that the sums spent for amusements in the income groups above \$1300 are "probably sufficient for recreational and health needs."

THE STRUGGLE OF FRANCE WITH HIGH PRICES

IN the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for August 1st, the eminent French economist Raphael-Georges Lévy discusses "The High Cost of Living." Though addressed to the French people alone, his words have much instruction for "the two worlds." It is, indeed, remarked, that the condition complained of is universal, and that the decreasing value of the monetary unit is in some degree inevitable, from the constant mining and minting of the precious metals. The special rise of prices, or dearness of living, at the present time, is charged to two essential causes: the terrible losses of the war, and the inflation, and extravagant use, of the paper money by the government.

In coal, food-stuffs, textiles, means of transportation, crippled France is compelled to import heavily, at high profit to the foreign seller—paid, too, at a very high rate of exchange (7 francs per dollar, 33 per pound sterling in July, '19). Her loss in men, also, greatly exceeds even that of England. The increased cost of necessities, 1914-18, is stated at 75 per cent. in England, 200 per cent. in France.

The government has actually increased its

indebtedness, by the issue of notes, faster, in this last year, than during the war. In 1871, not one note was issued after peace was declared, and by 1878 the whole debt to the Bank of France was repaid. Governmental extravagance is put high above all other causes of needless suffering.

That alternate increase of food prices and of labor's wages can bring no real relief, is just coming to be understood, there, as here.

Wage-earners, whether employed by the state, a corporation, or an individual, are not a country's entire population. All who have a fixed income, whether from capital, salary, or pension, are facing the same distressing problem.

The most hopeful feature of the day is the revival of French agriculture, with improved methods: "the phosphates of Algeria and Tunis added to the potash of Alsace."

There is bitter complaint against government management of post-offices, telegraphs, and telephones. The great captains of industry should be left to rebuild their own workshops, and restore their mines, while the government limits itself to bringing order out of chaos in its proper political

functions. Instead of guaranteeing an extravagant price for wheat at home, or buying no less wastefully abroad, it should leave all this to the natural laws of international trade. Food prices would not then be twice as high in France as in London.

The intrinsic causes, due to lessened production and lack of transportation, are destined gradually to lose their intensity. Slow as seems the restoration of devastated provinces, the renewal of our crippled railways, yet every day marks some progress. Let us look, too, at the other countries, since we must for a long time be heavily dependent on imports from them. There, normal life is swiftly reviving, and we can foresee a time when they may approach ante-bellum conditions. Approach—not attain; for one factor in particular, hand-labor, is at once more costly and less efficient. In other lands some relief, in lower prices, is already seen (60 per cent. in Belgium, in five months). Why, in France, have they risen rapidly since the armistice? The cause is the depreciation of our money; and for that the blame rests on the government. . . . It was the government that led in the first evil step, by fixing extravagant wages for the workers in war factories, by placing contracts at such heavy profits that it was forced to put a special tax on them, by casting billions right and left with no thought

how they could be obtained, by compelling the issue of billions and billions of paper money. It has interfered to regulate import, export, and transport. It has dictated arbitrarily what should or should not come in at all, putting unwise or prohibitive duties on goods often imperatively needed. . . .

Let it put off the numberless functions it assumed in war-time; cut down the enormous list of officeholders; let private business undertake freely and fruitfully what government agents execute slowly, hesitatingly, intent above all on dodging individual responsibility. . . .

Time must do much; but even a beginning will give universal encouragement. Let ministers at once stop proposing and the Chambers voting, extravagant outlays. Let a consolidated loan be issued quickly. Let the circulation be decreased, if it be only by a billion a year, and let there be no more borrowing at all. Let the barriers against foreign trade fall.

And let the French people, laborious by temperament, refuse to turn from their natural ways, at the treacherous call of suspected leaders. Let the ancient virtues, the chief heritage of our admirable peasantry, industry, system, economy, continue among them—and among our workmen as well. Soon shall we see renewed, in our dear and great land, the prosperity which is more than ever deserved by the heroism displayed throughout the fifty-two months' duration of the most atrocious war the world has known.

THE ADVENT OF "SEA LEATHER"

GENERAL attention has recently been called to a world-wide shortage of leather mainly through the abnormal rise in the price of footwear. Leather has heretofore been produced on a commercial scale from only a few species of the animal kingdom. The question naturally arises: Are there not many other possible sources? This question is answered, in part, by Mr. R. G. Skerrett in the *Scientific American* (New York). His article deals with the campaign that has been waged by the Bureau of Fisheries, U. S. Department of Commerce, to exploit hitherto unutilized marine sources of leather, and the tangible results already attained. With respect to the existing shortage he says:

We are accustomed to boast of our self-efficiency when it comes to raw materials, especially. It will, therefore, probably shock many good Americans to learn that the United States commonly relies upon the outside world for nearly half of its cattle hides, for well-nigh all of its goat skins, and likewise for a very large part of the pelts of sheep and calves consumed here. From an industrial point of view, the present leather shortage and outlook become even more serious when we recognize the fact that we have grown to be the leading nation among those

manufacturing boots and shoes. What are we going to do to make up the existing scarcity and to insure our factories against shut-down or woefully diminished output?

The use of the skins of marine mammals and fishes is, of course, nothing new; but the amount of leather obtained from such sources has been insignificant in comparison with that obtained from land animals.

In England, for a good long time, the tanners have been producing a fine grade of so-called porpoise leather from the skin of the beluga or white whale, which attains a length of 18 feet or more and will average in girth from 10 to 12 feet. This leather has great tensile strength and is remarkably well adapted to the making of machinery belts; and because it keeps its shape under varying stresses it is admirable for working into shoes. The beluga abounds in the waters contiguous to the northern coasts of this continent.

The most significant development in the art of converting the skins of aquatic creatures into leathers of excellent grades is that now being pursued upon a commercial scale in dealing with the hides of sharks, rays, dogfish, blackfish, etc. Despite the fact that many firms, encouraged by the United States Department of Commerce, failed to secure satisfactory results, one New York concern has solved the difficulty that has hitherto baffled the tanner. One of the early operations in preparing the skin of the aquatic animal for

tanning is that of soaking the hide in a lime solution. If this is not done with extreme care and with due regard to the natural differences peculiar to the fish skin the resultant product is so spongy and lacking in strength that it has practically no market value. This stage of the process has pretty generally ruined the skin and made further work upon it quite useless. Today, the secret of a correct lime bath has been discovered, and, similarly, some other phases incidental to the manipulation of the skins have been mastered. Among these is a degreasing treatment which effectually removes the fishy odor.

The adaptation of the shark skin to the general purposes of the leather worker has presented distinctive difficulties—so, too, has the skin of the ray and the dogfish—because of the horny, tuberculous exterior which is frequently so hard that it can be ground down only by means of abrasive belts or wheels. In fact, this shagreen has been extensively employed by cabinet-makers, ivory workers, metal workers, etc., in lieu of emery cloth and sand paper. The question of making shark skins available for leather has, therefore, rested in part upon devising ways to get rid of the shagreen.

Thanks to recourse to chemistry, the shagreen can be completely separated from the underlying skin and yet leave the hide beautifully marked with its characteristic "grain." So dressed, the leather lends itself to the manufacture of bags, belts, card cases and other articles where an ornamental surface is desired. With this exterior removed, either the upper layer of the skin or the underlying "splits" can be dressed for shoe stock—including the heavy material for soles. The leather will take a beautiful finish and is notably durable. From a 500-pound shark it is possible to obtain ten square feet of leather from the hide, and the stomach furnishes a raw material that will yield a leather which is soft and

strong and looks not unlike glazed kid when ready for the market.

Mr. Skerrett describes in some detail the kinds and amounts of leather obtained from various other creatures of the sea. Fortunately for the development of the "sea leather" industry, the same creatures yield a number of other marketable commodities, for example:

From the livers of the shark an oil is obtainable, also from the livers of the dogfish, which is said to have much of the medicinal properties which characterize cod liver oil, and, besides, the oil is in demand for the manufacture of soaps, for mixing paints, and for the treatment of some leathers. A 500-pound shark will give an average of from 10 to 15 gallons of liver oil, which is easily marketable at fifty cents a gallon. The dorsal fins, when dried, bring \$2.50 apiece among Oriental epicures. The teeth sell readily for five cents each to manufacturing jewelers who work them into ornaments of one kind or another. The flesh of the shark is said to be decidedly palatable, and the Bureau of Fisheries has published some thirty different recipes for fresh shark, smoked shark, salt shark, and canned shark. In common with the meat of other sea creatures, the flesh of the shark can be converted into fertilizer or dried and ground for chicken and cattle food. As a fertilizer the stuff is rich in ammonia and phosphoric acid.

It appears that a "sea leather" company has already established stations for taking sharks, porpoises, rays, dogfish, etc., at Morehead City and Broad Creek, N. C., and at Fort Myers and Sanibel Island, Fla.

A REMARKABLE RAINFALL RECORD IN HAWAII

THE meteorologist measures rainfall in inches or millimeters. The layman is perhaps more inclined to think of it in the same terms as the gardener who, according to *Punch*, having examined his rain-gauge after a storm, reported that the rainfall was "between a pint and a pint and a half." The amount as scientifically observed is the depth that would remain on the ground if none ran off, soaked in or evaporated. In the eastern United States the rainfall ranges from 30 to 60 inches per annum, and only in a very limited area, in the extreme northwest corner of Washington state, does the rainfall of the continental United States exceed 100 inches. An inch of rainfall is equivalent to 101 tons of water per acre, or 64,640 tons per square mile. It seems

advisable to set down these facts for the benefit of the non-meteorological public before presenting a digest of an article by Mr. G. K. Larrison, of the U. S. Geological Survey, entitled "Uncle Sam's Dampest Corner," published in the *Monthly Weather Review* (Washington, D. C.).

The "dampest corner" in question is in the Hawaiian Islands, and it is a fact of novel interest to the scientific as well as the larger public that the rainfall at a certain place in these islands is possibly larger than anywhere else in the world. For at least half a century the world's record for raininess has been attributed to the town of Cherapunji, in India. This place is situated in the foothills of the Himalaya, about 4100 feet above sea-level. It is exposed to the

full force of the moist southwest monsoon, and rapid condensation of moisture is due to the forced ascent of the winds on the face of precipitous hills at the summit of which Cherrapunji is located. The rainfall of this spot, according to the latest official figures, averages 426 inches a year. Higher values have sometimes been published, but they were based on shorter records.

All other places in the world having exceptionally heavy rainfall are likewise situated in mountainous regions and are exposed to moist ocean winds. Two stations in the former German colony of Kamerun—Bibundi and Debundja—are close rivals of Cherrapunji, judging from the relatively short records available.

The extraordinarily heavy rainfall in portions of the Hawaiian Islands was not suspected until recently, because it occurs in places that were never scientifically explored until the U. S. Geological Survey undertook a thorough hydrometric survey of the islands. The rainiest spot thus far found is the summit of Mount Waialeale, elevation 5080 feet, on the island of Kauai. Mr. Larrison says:

During the periods August 2, 1911, to March 26, 1914, and May 31, 1915, to August 13, 1917, a total of 1782 days, there was recorded on Mount Waialeale a total precipitation of 2325 inches, or an average of 1.3047 inches per day. In a 365-day year this would amount to an annual precipitation of about 476 inches. The years of 1918 and 1914, for which, unfortunately, no records were obtained, were the wettest since the local Weather Bureau office was established in the Hawaiian Islands. Though comparative estimates are always unsatisfactory, reliable records obtained at near-by stations indicate that in both 1914 and 1918 the rainfall at this station exceeded 600 inches. From May 21, 1915, to May 30, 1916, the recorded rainfall at Mount Waialeale was 561 inches.

Mount Waialeale is the peak of the island of Kauai, and is inaccessible except to the most expert mountaineers. For this reason it has been very difficult to maintain the station and it was finally discontinued on account of inability to get mountaineers to make the necessary regular visits.

There are several other damp spots in Hawaii. Puu Kukui, 5000 feet above sea level, on the island of Maui, has for the last seven years had an average precipitation of 369 inches, the maximum being 562 inches in 1918. On the island of Hawaii, at the intake of the Upper Hamakua irrigation ditch, 4000 feet above sea level, rainfall amounting to 504 inches was recorded in 1914. At at least a dozen other spots—all more than 1000 feet in elevation—in the Territory the rainfall in 1914 and 1918 exceeded 350 inches. The heaviest daily downpour ever recorded in the Territory was 31.95 inches at Honouliuli, Hawaii (elevation 1200 feet), February 20, 1918. Ac-

cording to the Weather Bureau record the total rainfall at this station for the year was 379 inches.

Except those collected at Honouliuli, practically all the high-level records have been obtained by engineers of the Water-Resources Branch of the United States Geological Survey, or by parties co-operating therewith, for the local office of the Weather Bureau has been unable to collect daily records except those furnished free of cost by co-operative observers who could obtain the records at a minimum expenditure of effort. As a result nearly all the records published by the Weather Bureau are for low elevations, and as the higher levels of the Hawaiian mountains are practically uninhabited it has devolved on the Geological Survey to establish the high-level stations needed to obtain data to be used in connection with its hydrometric work. The records most needed are those for places on the upper ridges and peaks and in the upper reaches of valleys where only wild cattle and pig trails—or no trails at all—existed, and where no human being could possibly have set foot previous to the construction of trails by the Geological Survey. In these upper valleys, also, where the rainfall is excessive and the forest cover almost of the jungle type, the soil is usually saturated and the going is very heavy. Accordingly reconnaissance work is rather strenuous, and where regular visits must be made foot trails from 3 to 8 miles long usually have to be constructed.

Of course, under these conditions, it is practically impossible to obtain daily rainfall records, and accordingly three types of raingages and an evaporation gage to measure the evaporation from the raingages (if any), to be read at monthly or longer regular periods, have been designed.

Hawaii is remarkable not only for the excessive rainfall above mentioned, but also for a wide diversity of rainfall between places comparatively near one another, horizontally as well as vertically.

Starting with Mount Waialeale, elevation 5080 feet, on Kauai, with a mean annual precipitation of 476 inches, we have the following records, covering practically the same period.

	Elevation.	Miles.	Inches.
	Feet		
Mount Waialeale	5080	476
Olokele	2100	2.0 sw	149
Kokee	3550	10.5 nw	56
Pali Trail	850	11.0 sw	16
North Wailua	650	4.0 e	126

On the island of Maui the variations are still more remarkable. Stations near Puu Kukui, elevation 5000 feet, with a mean of 369 inches (562 inches for 1918), give the following records:

	Elevation.	Miles.	Inches.
	Feet		
Puu Kuki	5000	369
Kahoma Reservoir	2000	4.0 w	55
Kaanapali	12	7.5 nw	18
Wailuku village	390	5.5 se	30

Disregarding chronology, topography, and geography, Puu Kukui, elevation 5000 feet, during 1918 had 562 inches; at Camp No. 7 of Pioneer Mill Co., elevation 90 feet, less than 8 miles southwest, 2.47 inches was recorded in 1912.

INDUSTRIALIZING THE FRENCH THEATER

THE paper in the *Mercur de France* of August 1st, signed Claude, on the "Industrial Evolution of the Theater" is a mercilessly frank critique, based on the most intimate knowledge. One rubs one's eyes, above all in this field, to find a Frenchman telling his people that they have fallen altogether behind their Anglo-Saxon friends, over the Channel and overseas.

The war has only hastened what had already begun. It was notorious that everywhere there was evasion, or franker ignoring, of the Society of Authors' three cardinal edicts:

(1) Each theater shall pay all its authors, famous or unknown, the same established percentage of receipts according to its fixed usage.

(2) No author may present a play where he is an official, or a stockholder, of the theater.

(3) No man shall be director of more than one theater.

The "little boxes" and music halls have led in the violation of all such rules, and hastened the downfall of the profession. Stock companies have disappeared. The slightest of plots, with one climax of sensational action in each, are alone successful. One or two real actors are supported by mere supernumeraries and poseurs, unable to act. The actor-managers have, from personal pride and jealousy, aggravated this condition. A handful of old actors and actresses, who have dominated the stage for twenty years, have no dangerous rivals or possible successors. The dramatic criticism of the daily papers is written by actors, personally known to the all-powerful directors, whose favor is the chief objective point in every opinion or judgment they utter. The theater is very largely commercialized already. To give it a frank industrial character will really be a reform, and also a recognition of what has always been true: Of all artworks, the play is most immediately dependent on a paying clientele.

Not to mention the cinematographs, the "music halls" (word and thing, music and dance, frankly borrowed from our British cousins and ourselves) are emptying the great theaters. During the Peace Conference, Mr. Wilson, Lloyd George, and Lord Derby assisted at the inauguration of the Parisian branch of the London "Palace"!

There is plenty of wit and fancy still in French letters; but it is lost to the stage.

In fifty years no large theater has been added. All are old-fashioned, uncomfortable for spectators and actors, with heavy decorations, no modern machinery, no proper exploiting of the miracles of electric lighting. It has been largely forgotten that drama is above all a spectacle—an appeal to the eye. Cyrano had many imitators and successors, Chanticleer not one, for no other theater would face such outlay.

In the final stroke of fate, which dramatic writers and actors are disposed to regard as disastrous, the writer is inclined to see the best hope of improvement. To use another accepted French word of purely American origin, the theaters of Paris are in the hands of "the Trust," of three capitalists and two author-directors.

The day of petty plotting and petty economies is over. The selection of plays and the staging of them will each pass into the hands of a group of impartial experts—the latter a task heretofore often bungled by the authors themselves. The director of a syndicate of theaters will be too busy to meddle with details of either. A budding dramatist will no longer have to advertise himself laboriously in social life. It will all be a practical business question: Has he an effective play? Young actors who show real promise will be better paid, and also encouraged to enjoy a larger leisure in "seeing life"—because that is the right road to better and more impressive work on the "mimic stage." A check will be put on the excessive feminine dominance, which the happily-mated pairs of Russian dancers have shown to be, even artistically, a grievous mistake. They "have shown us what can be wrought by the alliance of the two temperaments, masculine and feminine, for complete spectacular beauty."

The actor-director and the permanent "stock-companies" will probably vanish altogether. Instead of the thin three-act melodrama for one or two live actors, we may hope for more sustained dramas with a larger variety of real character-parts—because the public will enjoy them. Relative security of tenure, and fair recompense for all, is better than the past of general hardship and

occasional brilliant success. The theater will be frankly industrialized; it must be saved from mere commercialism.

Above all there must be solidarity, and acceptance of natural comradeship for common success. Brilliant gifts are often curiously incomplete.

A young poet full of promise has just staged a satiric and symbolic comedy, which failed. It might have succeeded, if an imaginative collaborator could have stamped it with the joyous spirit, the vigor, which it lacked. But there was that terrible question of sharing the author's rights and the applause.

The theater must give the largest possible picture of life. The art of being spectacular must be learned—even from the music hall and "movie." The theaters must be made safe in case of fire, as none now are. Everywhere the prime cost will be large, "but it will pay."

The *trusteur* can bring about great and happy reforms in the theater. He has an open field. . . . We French have been, we are still, the masters of drama. . . . We must set grand scenes and noble actions before the world-public, which shall be dazzled by our exploits in the mimic art, as it has been by our exploits in the field of reality.

A RETROSPECT OF THE STUDENTS' ARMY TRAINING CORPS

THE Students' Army Training Corps, in its final form, which included, as the roof and crown of the scheme, the Collegiate Section, began its brief existence on October 1, 1918, just in time to save the universities and colleges of the country from being put out of business by losing the bulk of their students in the draft. It was abolished by an order of the War Department issued November 26 of the same year. Demobilization began on December 2 and was practically completed by December 26. Hence the entire life of the Corps was barely three months. Only six weeks of this period preceded the signing of the armistice, after which there was a notable "slump" in the activities and morale of the Corps, robbed of the prospects of active service and with probable demobilization near at hand. Last but not least, the work of the Corps while hostilities were still in progress was seriously interrupted, in nearly all the units, by the influenza epidemic.

The Army Students' Training Corps was an experiment, concerning the success of which diverse judgments have been passed. It should not be forgotten that the training of college students for commissions was only a part of this scheme. In a long review of the undertaking, published by Maj. R. B. Perry, U. S. A., in *National Service* (New York), we find a summary of the work of the Vocational Section, originally known as the National Army Training Detachments, which did for the rank and file of the Army what the Collegiate Section was designed to do for the commissioned personnel. We read that

By July 1 the number of National Army training detachments had risen to 147, with 50,000 men under training. When the armistice was signed, on November 11, 130,000 men had received this training, of whom 90,000 had been assigned and approximately 70,000 sent overseas.

The scope of this training is indicated by the trade distribution of the men sent from the schools to organizations up to and including November 13, 1919: Auto drivers, chauffeurs, 4580; auto and motor mechanics, 25,331; blacksmiths and horse-shoers, 4111; carpenters, cabinetmakers, woodworkers, 11,911; concrete foremen, concrete workers, 1369; electricians, 5160; engineers and firemen (steam power plant), 125; gas engine locomotive men, 1343; gunsmiths, 1530; instrument repairers, 729; locomotive engineers and firemen, 300; machinists, experts, 1499; mechanics, battery, 138; mechanics and machinists, general, 3374; miners (for motor convoy), 571; munition workers, 195; pipe fitters and plumbers, 376; radio electricians, 354; radio operators, 3524; railroad operating men, 181; rubber workers, 371; sheet metal workers, 1527; telegraphers, 1537; telephone linemen, 227; telephone troublemen, 180; tractor operators, 471; truck chauffeurs, 10,180; truckmasters, 362; welders, gas and electric, 244; unclassified and scattering (41 additional trades), 7163; total, 88,972. Of this total 3712 were colored men.

The operations of the Vocational Section, apart from minor defects, appear to have been a brilliant success. On the other hand, the Collegiate Section has been the subject of a certain amount of unfavorable criticism, especially on the part of educators the country over.

The organization and methods of the Collegiate Section are still fresh in the public mind, so that we need not draw upon Major Perry's article for information under this head. Some statistical facts, however, deserve quoting:

Applications were received from virtually every collegiate institution in the country, and after the collection of the necessary information and in many cases after considerable negotiation, 524 collegiate units were eventually established.

The number of men inducted into the Collegiate Section of the S. A. T. C. was approximately 135,000. By special arrangement with the Navy Department there were also established 93 naval units with an enrollment of 12,598 and 12 marine units with an enrollment of 413.

The procurement of the 4000 officers who were eventually required to command this new army was one of those impossibilities that were perpetually being accomplished during the summer of 1918. There were practically no officers available when the work was undertaken, but a full complement was eventually obtained from the following sources: retired officers already on duty with educational institutions, 109; from National Army training detachments, depot brigades and hospitals, 788; instructors from the special S. A. T. C. training camps conducted July 15 to September 15, many of them being held over from the R. O. T. C. camps held in June, 184; air service officers, released by the closing of ground schools and examining boards, 84; quartermaster corps, 104; miscellaneous, 26; newly commissioned from S. A. T. C. camps, 2618; total, 3918.

Major Perry's final summary of the work of the whole Corps, including both Vocational and Collegiate Sections, is valuable as setting forth just what it accomplished, despite the very hasty and tentative nature of the undertaking:

(1) It trained 120,000 technicians for the army and delivered 90,000 to the organizations that needed and requested them.

(2) It built and operated a plant that would have produced 200,000 more technicians, better selected and better trained, before June 1.

(3) It enabled the colleges and technical and professional schools to open in the fall of 1918 with something approaching the normal attendance of teachers and students, thus keeping intact the body of secondary school graduates and the great system of higher education.

(4) It delivered 8642 men to officers' training camps.

(5) It mobilized, clothed and armed 130,000 men of the new age groups in advance of their call in the draft, and as a net addition to the capacity of the cantonments.

(6) It built and operated a plant that would before June 1 have delivered at least 50,000 men to schools for commissioned and noncommissioned officers, men specially trained in the various branches of the service for which they were intended including infantry, field artillery, coast artillery, air service, engineers, ordnance corps, signal corps, chemical warfare service, machine gun service, motor transport corps, medical corps, veterinary corps and dental corps. In addition to these selected men the Collegiate Section of the S. A. T. C. would have provided basic education and military training for at least 140,000 additional men many or most of whom would have eventually found their way into commissioned or non-commissioned grades. In short, combining the programs of the vocational and collegiate sections, the S. A. T. C. was a mobilization and training plant with a capacity up to July 1, 1919, of not less than 520,000 or nearly twenty divisions.

(7) It established relations of service and co-operation between the War Department and the educational institutions of the country, relations that cannot fail to have a durable and beneficial effect upon the preparedness of the nation for similar emergencies in the future.

A TRADE-UNION COLLEGE

THE Boston Central Labor Union voted on March 16 last to establish in Boston a trade-union college which would give workmen and workingwomen the advantages of university training and make accessible to them the range of subjects that would promote the solid welfare and progress of organized labor.

In the reconstruction program of the American Federation of Labor, one finds under the head of education the following sentences:

It is impossible to estimate the influence of education upon the world's civilization. Education must not stifle thought and inquiry, but must awaken the mind concerning the application of natural laws and to a conception of independence and progress.

Education must not be for a few but for all our people. While there is an advanced form of public education in many States, there still

remains a lack of adequate educational facilities in several States and communities. The welfare of the Republic demands that public education should be elevated to the highest degree possible. The Government should exercise advisory supervision over public education and where necessary maintain adequate public education through subsidies without giving to the Government power to hamper or interfere with the free development of public education by the several States. It is essential that our system of public education should offer the wage-earners' children the opportunity for the fullest possible development. To attain this end, State colleges and universities should be developed.

Mr. William Leavitt Stoddard quotes this statement in an illuminating article on the Boston Trade Union College, published in the *Nation* of August 30.

He says: "For many years the Boston labor movement has been advocating the establishment of a State University open to

every class of citizen on such terms that every class could obtain the advantages of the privately-owned universities so numerous in Massachusetts."

Among the educators who assisted in establishing the college are Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School, Professor Irving Fisher of Yale, Professor William Z. Ripley of Harvard, and Mr. Francis Sayre of Harvard.

Among other names on the faculty we find those of H. W. L. Dana, Alford D. Sheffield, Arthur Fisher, Charles C. Ramsay, H. J. Kallen, James MacKaye and Mr. W. L. Stoddard, the author of the article in the *Nation*.

From the very first it was the aim of all those promoting the college to create an institution which should be democratic both in principle and in practice. For this reason the governing board or "committee in charge" is not fashioned after existing governing councils of American universities but is composed of a joint committee, some members of which represented the proprietors of the college, the Central Labor Union, and the remainder the instructing force. This committee, as now constituted, consists of eleven trade unionists and five instructors. Each section of the joint committee naturally is responsible to the body electing or appointing it, and the whole is responsible to the Central Labor Union before which, at open meetings, appeals may be taken.

The new college opened its doors on April 7 for a term of ten weeks. The use of a high-school building in Roxbury was obtained by the committee from the Boston School Board. Twelve courses were given, each arranged for week-day evenings from eight to ten. The course fee to members of trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor was \$2.50. One hun-

dred and fifty were enrolled—a sufficient number to test the idea.

The general subjects covered are six: English, Labor Organization, Law, Government, Economics, and Science. The English courses are three: one in the theory and practice of English composition, one in the practice of discussion, and one a survey of the great literatures of the world. The Labor courses are likewise three: the history of trade unions, shop committees and collective bargaining, and the history of the freedom of labor. The one course in Law, given by Professor Pound, is an introduction to American law. The one course in Government is a study of political processes in England and America. The one course in Economics is "a study of the economic principles which are of special importance to labor." Under Science fall two courses: the fundamental principles of physical science, and the elements of mental science including the principles of reasoning. So much for the bare bones of the present curriculum.

English has by far the largest registration of all the courses. The courses in Law, Government, and Science are probably next in popularity, with Economics and Labor Organization coming at the end. What is the significance of any of these statistics it would be difficult to say except to point out that so-called "practical" courses, such as the first two mentioned under English, more nearly meet the needs of the trade unionists than the others. This is not, however, to argue or to admit that the rest of the courses are unpopular or not wanted, for this is far from the fact. But the average workingman who after a full day's work comes out for an evening in a schoolroom, tends to want to learn how to do something which will be of immediate use to him.

The establishing of a trade-union college and the prospect of its duplication in other cities throughout the United States is one of the most hopeful signs of national equilibrium and of the amicable settlement, within the near future, of the differences now existing between Labor and Capital.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY AUTOMOBILES

THE automobile having become such an indispensable factor of our modern life, it is difficult for us to realize that, like all great inventions, it had to pass through a long stage of indifference and neglect. Of the first hesitating steps in its evolution Signor Mario Bellati Nerli gives some interesting details in the Italian *Rassegna Nazionale*.

He awards the credit of the first invention to a French engineer, Joseph Cugnot, born at Void in Lorraine, September 25, 1725. Encouraged by his success in devising

a new model of musket which was favorably received by the famous general Maurice de Saxe, he conceived, while in Brussels, the idea of constructing, for the transport of war material, a type of vehicle in which steam should be the motive power. In 1760 he came to Paris for the furtherance of his undertaking and succeeded in making a model of such a car, and submitted it to the examination of Gribeuval, inspector of artillery.

As often happens, a somewhat similar idea

had suggested itself to a Swiss officer named Planta, and had been reported by him to the minister Choiseul. Gribouval was called upon to give his opinion and he immediately recognized the characteristics of Cugnot's model; this Planta frankly admitted. Choiseul then charged Cugnot to prepare, at government expense, a full-sized vehicle built on the lines of his model.

This having been done, the car was tested in the presence of the minister, of a general, and of some experts. Four passengers having been put aboard, it was set in motion and traveled a short distance at the rate of from six to nine miles an hour, but as the boiler did not generate sufficient steam, the vehicle had to be stopped from time to time so that a new accumulation of motive force could be gathered.

Some other defects developed, and it appeared that the boiler lacked strength to withstand the strain to which it was subjected by the expanding vapor. However, the results were judged to be favorable enough to warrant the building of a new car of an improved type, calculated to carry a weight of from 8000 to 10,000 pounds and to travel continuously at a speed of six miles an hour. Meanwhile the inventor was rewarded with 20,000 francs. Choiseul's enforced retirement from the ministry in 1770 seems to have interfered with further experiments, although a contemporary diarist relates that toward the end of that year a steam-driven vehicle transported a gun-carriage weighing 5000 pounds over a distance of a league in fifteen minutes.

At any rate an annual pension of 600 francs was granted to Cugnot, but the Revolution robbed him of this, and had it not been for the aid of a charitable Belgian lady he would have died of want. In 1793 the Committee of Public Safety proposed to demolish the car so that the materials might be used for war munitions, but this was frustrated by some artillery officers. On Bonaparte's return from his Italian campaign in 1797; his attention was drawn to the invention and a committee of which he was to be a member was appointed to pass upon it, but the Egyptian expedition of 1798 prevented this. Finally, in 1801, the neglected car found a resting place in the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers in Paris. Cugnot's pension, augmented to 1000 francs, had been restored to him, but when he died in 1804, at the age of seventy-nine, his clos-

ing hours were not gladdened by any vision of the wonderful automobile of the future.

His machine had two bronze cylinders, set vertically, and connected by a tube alternately with the boiler to receive the steam, and with the outer air to expel it when it had performed its work. The boiler was of spheroidal form and was placed toward the front of the vehicle, the fire-grate being beneath. There were three wheels, one in front, and two behind connected by an axle. The motive power was applied to the forward wheel. The steam at high pressure drove a piston in each of the cylinders, communicating their alternative movement by means of ratchets and latches to the wheel. To give this wheel greater stability it was encircled by an iron tire, solidly rivetted.

Another, and an independent inventor was the American Oliver Evans, who in 1786 asked the legislature of Pennsylvania to grant him a patent for a vehicle driven by steam; but no one was willing to give the matter serious consideration. Later, he was more successful in Maryland; however, the terms of his patent were too vague to attract capitalists and no encouragement was extended to this "dreamer of horseless carriages," as he was called.

Rejected by his own countrymen, Evans decided to send his plans to London, in the hope that some English capitalist might be induced to utilize the patent and divide the profits; but this effort also was vain. He then waited until he had saved up a little money and began, at his own expense, the construction of a machine, and despite all adverse comment, it is stated that he was at last able to see his vehicle in motion on one of the streets of Philadelphia. Still, even this proof of the truth of his claims failed to excite interest, and at the time of his death, in 1819, his project was not yet realized.

In England two Cornish machinists built a couple of cars in 1807 according to the plans Evans had sent, but it was found that because of the weight of the boiler, the fire-grate and the fuel, almost all the power generated was needed to move the vehicle itself, little or none being available for transporting passengers or freight.

Thus all these early attempts came to grief, and it was only after the new and perfected types of motors had been invented that the dream of the horseless carriage was at last made a reality.

THE NEW BOOKS

THE WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

The Last Million. By Ian Hay. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 203 pp.

Major Beith, who won great popularity through his earlier book, "The First Hundred Thousand," as an interpreter of the British "Tommy," now does a like good turn for the American Dough-boy. His comments are good-humored and appreciative throughout.

Fighting the Flying Circus. By Captain Edward V. Rickenbacker. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 371 pp.

At the beginning of the war "Eddie" Rickenbacker was an automobile racing man well known in the United States and England. At the end of it he was the American "Ace of Aces," the commander of the first American squadron to fly over the enemy's lines and the only American fighting squadron selected to move into Germany with the Army of Occupation.

Air Men o' War. By Boyd Cable. E. P. Dutton & Company. 246 pp.

Early in the war Boyd Cable took high rank among the authors of books giving accounts of the fighting. In "Grapes of Wrath" and other volumes he told the story of the man in the trenches. In "Air Men o' War" he performs a like service for the flying man.

The Web. By Emerson Hough. Chicago: The Reilly & Lee Company. 511 pp.

It is now permitted to disclose the operations of "A. P. L.," the American Protective League, the organization through which 250,000 business and professional men helped win the war by suppressing disloyal utterances and actions tending to undermine the national morale. Mr. Hough makes an interesting story of it.

Germany in the War and After. By Vernon Kellogg. Macmillan. 101 pp.

American writers having actual, personal knowledge of German opinion during the war are few. Of this small group, none has better credentials than Mr. Kellogg, whose articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* and other magazines have had a wide reading for the past two years.

Reading in the Economics of War. Edited by J. Maurice Clark, Walton H. Hamilton and Harold G. Moulton. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 676 pp.

An interpretation of the war in its economic aspects, having a direct bearing on the future organization of industrial society. The readings represent no single school of thought, but are catholic in range of opinion in respect to the

problems arising from American participation in the war.

The Story of the First Gas Regiment. By James Thayer Addison. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 326 pp. Ill.

A regiment using gas as a sole offensive munition, was something unheard of in military history prior to the Great War. Yet in the summer of 1917, our own Government organized such a regiment and, although practically nothing could be printed about its doings during the actual progress of the war, it actually took part in the three great battles of Château-Thierry, St. Mihiel, and the Argonne. The record of its action—a real contribution to history—has been written by the regimental chaplain, James Thayer Addison, and is published in an attractive volume with many illustrations and maps.

Prisoners of the Great War. By Carl P. Dennett. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 235 pp. Ill.

The author of this book was the American Red Cross deputy commissioner to Switzerland in charge of finding, feeding, clothing and otherwise caring for American prisoners in German prison camps. He had, of course, unexcelled opportunities for learning the actual conditions in those camps. His book is the first authoritative statement to get general circulation in this country.

Physical Examination of the First Million Draft Recruits: Methods and Results. Compiled under direction of the Surgeon-General, M. W. Ireland, by Albert G. Love, M.D., and Charles B. Davenport, Washington: Government Printing Office. 521 pp. Ill.

In "Bulletin Number 11" the Surgeon-General's Office at Washington tabulates the results of the physical examination of the first million draft recruits in 1917-18. The information contained in this bulletin is unique. Prior to the selective draft there had not been for more than half a century an opportunity to make a census of the physical constitution of the American people. The facts thus obtained should prove of the greatest value for the scientific study of our national health conditions.

The League of Nations. By Mathias Erberger. Translated by Bernard Miall. Holt. 331 pp.

In this volume the German Centrist leader professes to set forth the sincere demand of his section of public opinion in Germany for a League of Nations. Needless to say, it is not *the* League of Nations that he advocates. He does, however, call for compulsory arbitration and disarmament.

Russia in 1919. By Arthur Ransome. B. W. Huebsch. 232 pp.

Those who wish to view the present Russian situation from all standpoints and to do full justice to the Bolshevik leaders, will find in this little book by a well-known British writer much fresh and stimulating material. Besides personal interviews with Lenin and the heads of important government departments, Mr. Ransome gives detailed accounts of meetings of the Moscow Executive Committees and statistics concerning schools, libraries, prices of food and commodities, and facts concerning the great Russian experiment in government that is now in progress.

Bolshevik Aims and Ideals and Russia's Revolt Against Bolshevism. Reprinted from *The Round Table*. Macmillan. 89 pp.

A terse, clear-cut statement of the Bolshevik program together with an account of the

movements against Bolshevism in Russia itself.

Reconstruction and National Life. By Cecil Fairfield Lavell. Macmillan. 193 pp.

This work lays emphasis on national responsibilities in relation to reconstruction, rather than on the more formal, diplomatic aspects of the subject, which have already received much attention from other writers. The historical approach is adopted and four countries are studied—Great Britain, France, Russia, and Germany.

Collapse and Reconstruction. By Sir Thomas Barclay. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 315 pp.

A discussion of European conditions and American principles by an eminent British authority on international law. The most impressive passages in the book are those treating of America's relation to world problems.

LABOR PROBLEMS

An American Labor Policy. By Julius Henry Cohen. Macmillan. 110 pp.

Mr. Cohen is an American lawyer who has given much time to the study of industrial problems. He has acted as counsel for the employers in the garment trades, and during the New York City street-car strike in 1916 he was special counsel for the Public Service Commission. Mr. Cohen is neither a Syndicalist nor a Socialist, but he believes that there must and will be a change in the present state of industrial organization. In his view the same principle of social cooperation that enters into the League of Nations must be put into industry.

The I. W. W.: A Study of American Syndicalism. By Paul Frederick Brissenden. The Columbia University Press. 432 pp.

In this rather bulky account of American syndicalism to date the reader will find little more than an historical record of the growth and conflicts of the I. W. W. The author has made little attempt to analyze or interpret the movement, leaving this task for other investigators. He does, however, give a useful presentation of his

subject from the historian's standpoint, utilizing documentary material not easily accessible heretofore.

Syndicalism and Philosophical Realism. By J. W. Scott. London: A. & C. Black. 215 pp.

A Scottish philosopher's attempt to reconcile the extreme revolutionary aims of the modern Labor movement with the best thought of our time. Bergson and Bertrand Russell are the two philosophers of the day to whom special attention is devoted in this volume.

The Housing of the Unskilled Wage Earner. By Edith Elmer Wood. Macmillan. 321 pp.

Even at this late day the conception of the housing problem as a community matter is not everywhere familiar. We have only recently begun to regard it as a duty of society to insure the cleanliness and wholesomeness of the dwellings in which the poorest citizens live. In the present volume Mrs. Wood builds up a strong case for constructive housing legislation. She contributes to this by citing the experience of foreign countries as well as of our own.

AMERICAN RURAL LIFE

New Schools for Old. By Evelyn Dewey. E. P. Dutton Co. 336 pp.

This story of the regeneration of a country school is unique among the records of experiments in education. Not only has the author, Miss Evelyn Dewey, daughter of Professor John Dewey of Columbia, invested the book with the charm of her piquant style, but the subject-matter is drawn from the very heart of the impulse toward growth that renews the world and keeps it alive. The book permits one to visualize the process by

which a neglected country school becomes efficient as an educational factor and the social center of the community. Mrs. Harvey, the teacher of the Porter school, realized that the life of the rural school must be renewed from within, not regenerated by an infusion from without. She secured the cooperation of every individual in the district and presently her school became a living thing, and approached the ideal held by valiant educators for the American rural school. Reproductions from photographs illustrate the various steps in the work done by Mrs. Harvey.

VOLUMES OF POETRY

ARTHUR SYMONS has never surpassed in verbal beauty the prose of his memoir of Ernest Christopher Dowson, which prefaces Dowson's collected "Poems and Prose," now published in the "Modern Library" at a nominal price. This tragic poet of the early nineties was born in Lee, Kent, in 1867. He died in 1900, at the early age of thirty-three, leaving to posterity some excellent translations from the French, a small quantity of carefully written prose, and two slim volumes of verse. The second of these, "Decorations," shows that the poet's powers were dimming. Whether this was because of his reckless existence or because the flame of genius—never in his frail frame more than a flickering tongue of intermittent fire—had died down, we cannot know. But there is enough in the first volume, "Verses," to place his name among the immortals. Symons states that Dowson said he had given in the first book all he had to say. It is the judgment both of his contemporaries and of those who have come after that he gave his "all" in one perfect lyric, "Non Sum Qualis Eram Bonae Sub Regno Cynarae." This lyric is the epitome of his life, the echo of the despairing music to which he moved, loved and died, a poem whose perfection is the despair of greater poets than Dowson.

Although Walter Adolphe Roberts is by racial inheritance a Celt, there is the evidence of a strong Latinic feeling for art and poetry in his verse published under the title, "Pierrot Wounded and Other Poems."¹² Like Dowson, he has cared



WALTER ADOLPHE ROBERTS

to do a few things extremely well. Among these are the "Villanelle of the Living Pan," which approximates faultlessness, and closely approaching this is the "Villanelle of Montparnasse." His sonnets are graceful, particularly the one written in memory of his friend, Alan Seeger, and previously published in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS in connection with an article on Seeger. Notable among the translations included in the volume are those from the French of

Henri de Regnier, and from the Italian of Gabrielle d'Annunzio. There is a touch of Arcadian primitiveness in the original poems, and a shadow of subtle, half-sad sophistication, as of a mournful Pan evoking music in a twilight mood of the emotions, music that is regretful of the frailty of our mortal hold on the shimmering, elusive substance of art. Mr. Roberts is editor of *Ainslee's Magazine*.

In "The New Morning,"¹³ by Alfred Noyes, one finds the poet's reactions to the war and his outlook for the future. It is an impressive collection of poems, one that reveals the full stature of mature manhood facing the broken world in the light of the glory of the inner vision. It contains many well-known poems of the war—among others: "Dead Man's Morrice," "The Avenue of the Allies," "Victory" (written after the British service at Trinity Church), "Wireless," "Kilmeny," and "The Vindictive."

Mr. Rudyard Kipling's new volume, "The Years Between,"¹⁴ contains all his war poems and other poems never published before. Here is a graver, a deeper Kipling, one less facile with the froth of poesy and more concerned with its substance. Every one, Kipling-lover or not, will appreciate the stirring, memorable poems of the war, such as "Lord Roberts," "The Irish Guards," "The Song of the Lathes," "The Sons of Martha," "My Boy Jack," and the tribute to France with its inspiring refrain: "France, beloved of every soul that loves or serves its kind."

"War and Love,"¹⁵ by Richard Aldington, lieutenant in the British Army, contains the finest poetry of its kind published since the war. As a whole, the poems enclose one principal truth, namely, that in the final issue flesh and spirit are one and indivisible. Lieutenant Aldington has written of the thoughts and the emotions of the infantrymen of the line, of the "inarticulate feelings of the ordinary civilized man thrust into extraordinary and hellish circumstance;" written of his disregard of conduct and of the terrifying beauty of the passion of love, as he has seen it, in the shadow of death. He offers this book as a memoir of two years of the war. In every poem of the collection one feels the maturity of his genius, the widening and deepening of his poetic power.

Among the lists of translations there is hardly one that offers more than the attractively bound edition of "The Poems and Prose Poems of Charles Baudelaire,"¹⁶ with a biographical preface by James Huneker. One feels that the translator has succeeded in larger measure with the "Prose" than with the "Poems," but whatever is lacking in Baudelairean subtlety, is made up for by the preface. Huneker writes that Baudelaire's soul was a strayed spirit from a medieval day, one patiently built up as a fabulous bird might build its nest from all things good and evil, beautiful and obscene, with the "abomination of desolation for its undertones."

The second volume of George Herbert Clarke's "Treasury of War Poetry,"¹⁷ contains British and American poems of the war that keep to the high

¹²The New Morning. By Alfred Noyes. Frederick Stokes Co. 172 pp.

¹³The Years Between. By Rudyard Kipling. Doubleday, Page Co. 153 pp.

¹⁴War and Love. By Richard Aldington. The Four Seas Co. 94 pp.

¹⁵The Poems and Prose Poems of Charles Baudelaire. Brentano. 135 pp.

¹⁶A Treasury of War Poetry. Vol. II. Edited by George Herbert Clarke. Houghton, Mifflin. 361 pp.

¹⁷Poems and Prose of Ernest Dowson. With memoir by Arthur Symons. Boni & Liveright. 219 pp.

¹⁸Pierrot Wounded and Other Poems. By Walter Adolphe Roberts. Britton Pub. Co. 87 pp.

level of excellence set in the first volume. The two books bring together much of the best poetry written on the war, that which is most likely to register permanently in the spiritual gamut of the race. The introduction gives a graceful and searching analysis of the emotions of the poet and their expression in a war-torn world.

A new edition of "War Verse,"¹ a collection of poems of the war edited by Frank Foxcroft, is issued in a seventh and newly revised edition to which forty new poems have been added. These poems were published in English periodicals after the first edition went to press in August, 1918. Interest is added to this anthology by the fact that the poems are not in the main the work of poets and literary folk, but the sporadic and occasional expression of the men who actually did the work of the war.

For those who want an all-around taste of Russian literature, there is an "Anthology of Modern Slavonic Literature,"² edited and translated by P. Selver, with introduction and notes. The selections are typically racial and have been admirably selected from Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Czech, Serbian and Slovene sources. This book will be of great value to students and give pleasure and information to the average reader.

In an essay on poetry, "Nowadays,"³ Lord Dunsany asks: "What is it to hate poetry? It is to have no little dreams and fancies, no holy memories of golden days, to be unmoved by serene

midsummer evenings, or dawn over wild lands . . . it is to be cut off from the fellowship of great men that are gone; to see men and women without their halos and the world without its glory . . . it is to beat one's hands all day against the gates of Fairyland, and to find that they are shut and the country empty and its kings gone hence."

Marguerite Wilkinson's volume of friendly criticism of modern poetry, "New Voices,"⁴ is written not so much for poets as for the general public desirous of knowing about the beautiful poetry written by modern poets and about the poets themselves. The book brings to the reader not only the theories of verse-making, its technique and an analysis of various forms together with skilful criticism of the work of our well-known poets, but it brings the feel of the personalities of the poets, their friendliness, and the meaning of their ideals. The beginning of the understanding of poetry is friendliness to life, and Mrs. Wilkinson defines poetry as "simply the sharing of life in patterns of rhythmical words." Certain chapters discuss democracy and the new themes of poetry and the great war, and another—one of the most helpful—shows us how we can best give poetry to children and thereby lift their minds into currents of creative imagination. Mrs. Wilkinson was co-winner with David Morton, this year, of the National Arts Club prize of \$250 awarded the best poems read before the Poetry Society of America during the season of 1918-19.

NOVELS OF THE SEASON

THE popularity of the translations from the Spanish of Blasco Ibanez is at least partially explained if one looks beyond the plots, the structure, and the technique. In this author, as in Conrad, there is an onrush of elemental energy, the force of primitive nature sweeping through the words. Mark the very effusion of procreative earth in the first chapters of the "Four Horsemen,"⁵ feel the outflowing of the passion, the lure of the sea in "Mare Nostrum" (Our Sea).⁶ In the latter book, the story of German submarine warfare in the Mediterranean, the artful limning of the character of Freya, the spy, who draws Captain Farragut of the *Mare Nostrum* to place his boat at the service of the Germans, are both subservient to the characterization of the sea at once man's mistress and his destroyer. Blasco Ibanez uses thirty-four pages to describe the life of the deep seas held captive in the Aquarium at Naples. In this chapter as in the opening one of the "Four Horsemen," we have the grandiloquent gesture, the superb sweep of the genius of the great Spaniard.

"Mary Olivier,"⁷ a novel by May Sinclair, tells

the story of a woman's life. The narrative begins in 1865, when Mary is two years old, and follows the events of her life to the year 1910, when she is forty-seven. Readers who enjoyed Miss Sinclair's earlier book, "The Tree of Heaven," will find in the first book a certain preparation for "Mary Olivier." For as one suddenly—as upon sunshine after dense mists—came upon the belief in the story of the war, that the truth of reality lies beyond matter in some unpreponderable realm of the spirit, so in the later book one emerges without warning into the white light of an achieved joy, a happiness born of that which is wholly within one's self, a vista of the Kingdom of God. Mary Olivier, maid and woman, lived intensely, eagerly, always seeking happiness in things, in people. When she reached the calm levels of middle age, she recovered the brilliant flashes of clear joy that had illumined her childhood. She says: "People talked a lot about compensation, but nobody told you that after forty-five life would have this exquisite clearness and intensity." This book has a very deep beauty; it is nearer the rhythm of life eternal than anything else Miss Sinclair has done.

It is a distinct pleasure to recommend to American readers a complete edition of the novels of Archibald Marshall. This unassuming chroni-

¹War Verse. Edited by Frank Foxcroft. T. Y. Crowell. 363 pp.

²Anthology of Modern Slavonic Literature. Edited and translated by P. Selver. E. P. Dutton Co.

³Nowadays. By Lord Dunsany. The Four Seas Co. 29 pp.

⁴Mare Nostrum (Our Sea). By V. Blasco Ibanez. E. P. Dutton Co. 518 pp.

⁵Mary Olivier. By May Sinclair. Macmillan. 380 pp.

⁶New Voices. By Marguerite Wilkinson. Macmillan. 409 pp.



ARCHIBALD MARSHALL

cler of English country life has been quietly gaining a large audience of discriminating readers. In 1908, the first Marshall novel, "Exton Manor," was published in the United States. Now twelve novels and a volume of short stories are obtainable in uniform edition. Five of the novels are concerned with the fortunes of the famous Clinton family. Out of the twelve, "Richard Baldock" and "The Greatest of These" are perhaps one notch above the others in artistry, and in the pictorial quality peculiar to this novelist. The novels are all tranquil and leisurely; they are eloquent as life is eloquent, beyond the measure of its articulate speech. "The Clintons and Others,"¹ a recent collection of short stories, has been adjudged the best volume of short stories published this year. A short biography of the novelist, with a sketch of his work, has been prepared by Professor William Lyon Phelps ("Archibald Marshall: a Contemporary Realist." Dodd, Mead).

If you do not know Cuthbert Tunks, you will want to know him. He is the latest war hero, the winner of a V. C. For the incidents, how, when and where, consult Mr. A. Neil Lyons' inimitable story of the war, "A London Lot."² It is scintillatingly humorous; there is a laugh on every page and a deep humanity that frequently brings tears with the laughter. Cuthbert's own account of the adventure of the decoration, as he modestly recounted it to the Major, was that he had been "digging." After one learns what this underestimated "digging" was, one easily believes that the British part of the war was won by regiments of Cuthberts.

The English novelist, William de Morgan, died before he completed the last chapter of his mystery novel, "The Old Madhouse."³ The manuscript broke off in the middle of a sentence leaving the disappearance of Dr. Carteret in The Cedars, a mansion that had formerly been a madhouse, as great a mystery as on the day the Doctor stepped along the tiled corridor and vanished into nowhere. Luckily the novelist had talked over the solution with his wife, and she was able to finish the novel as he had intended. If this had not been possible, "The Old Madhouse" might have taken rank with "Edwin Drood" and piqued the invention of readers for a half-century. The novel is a leisurely, finely-textured story of English life. William de Mor-

gan died at his London home, "The Vale," in Chelsea, two doors from the former home of Thomas Carlyle, on January 15, 1917.

An edition of Leonard Merrick's novels⁴ will not escape the eye of those who wish to avoid the overly-serious novel. "Conrad in Quest of His Youth" is prefaced by Sir James Barrie; "Cynthia," by Maurice Hewlett; "The Actor Manager," by W. D. Howells, and "The Position of Peggy Harper," by Sir Arthur Pinero. No other contemporary story rivals "Conrad in Quest of His Youth." For Conrad achieves the impossible; he finds the Eternal Fountain sought vainly by Ponce de Leon, and by every son of Adam.

For those who like to remember Bellamy's "Looking Backward," and for all readers keenly interested in the evolution of humanity after the war, there is an enthralling story, "A Romance of Two Centuries," by Dr. Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie. Dr. Guthrie has brought all his scholarship to bear upon this postulate of the future, and woven his speculations into a fascinating narrative. A young American serving in the A. E. F. in 1918 is captured by the enemy and inoculated with the germs of the African sleeping sickness. Science preserves him alive, and in his youthful state (he was about twenty-five) until the year 2023. Then science discovers how to awaken him. His education in the world of that period then proceeds and his journeying over a new strange universe. There are different geographical divisions, new nations, customs, transportation, education and religion. Unique among all that is new to him, are the schools of matrimony. Bellamy yields to Dean Swift in the telling, for Dr. Guthrie cannot refrain from touching satirically our present-day follies, in particular our city-planning and financial system.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's first long novel to be published in English, "The Home and the World,"⁵ aims at the bringing together of the interests of the two sexes and the enlargement of their common life in the world. The principal characters are an East Indian landed proprietor; his wife, the beautiful Bimala, and an agitator in the cause of Swadeshi (the Nationalist Movement in India). The wife emerges from the age-long seclusion of the East Indian household to take up the work of the political agitator. Beseated by vanity, hampered by inexperience, she divides her life from that of her husband and brings sorrow and disillusionment upon her head. Tagore sees the destinies of man and woman as inseparable one from the other. The style has the charm of simplicity and the story holds the reader from beginning to end.

Mr. Arthur Symons' "Studies in the Elizabethan Drama"⁶ cover a period of over two decades of his critical achievement. They are distinguished by a style unsurpassed in current English prose.

¹The Clintons and Others. By Archibald Marshall. Dodd, Mead. 407 pp.

²A London Lot. By A. Neil Lyons. Lane. 279 pp.

³The Old Madhouse. By William de Morgan. Henry Holt Co. 567 pp.

⁴The Novels of Leonard Merrick. Uniform edition with prefaces. E. P. Dutton.

⁵A Romance of Two Centuries. By Dr. Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie. Platonist Press. 365 pp.

⁶The Home and the World. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan. 293 pp.

⁷Studies in Elizabethan Drama. By Arthur Symons. E. P. Dutton. 261 pp.